

406

THE  
HISTORY /  
OF THE  
RISE and FALL  
OF  
MASANIELLO,  
THE  
FISHERMAN of *Naples*,

CONTAINING

An Exact and Impartial Relation of the  
Tumults and Popular Insurrections, that  
happened in that Kingdom, (in the Year  
1647.) on Account of the Tax upon Fruits.

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*Collected from Authentick Memoirs and Manuscripts.*

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By F. MIDON, Jun<sup>r</sup>. 

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— Quelle horrible inhumanité que d'arracher aux  
hommes, pour des desseins pleins de faste & d'ambition,  
les doux fruits de la terre, qu'ils ne tiennent que de la  
liberale Nature & de la sueur de leur front !

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LO N D O N :

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M DCC. XXIX.



38*Hi*



To the Right Honourable  
*J O H N,*  
Ld. Viscount TYRCONNEL,  
Baron of *Charleville*,  
and Knt. of the most  
Honourable Order of  
the B A T H.

*My L O R D,*

**M**Take the Liberty  
to present *Masani-*  
*ello* to Your Lord-  
ship, with a certain Af-  
A 3 surance,

ii DEDICATION.

surance, that under Your Protection, he'll meet with a more human Treatment here, than formerly he did from his own Countrymen, who rewarded all his past Services with the highest Ingratitude. And indeed, *My Lord*, where could the History of this Brave Patriot find a fitter Patron than *Your Lordship*, who are so great a Cherisher of Learning, and so sincere a Lover of Your Country. The Learned of the *Augustan* Age inscribed their Labours to *Mecænas* under

der whose Favour they flourished: How much more is *Your Lordship* intitled to such a Tribute, while versed in most of the polite Languages, and learned in all the useful Branches of Knowledge, You contribute no less to the Progress of Literature, by the Influence of Your great Example, than by Your generous Encouragement of it.

Thus far, *My Lord*, I dare set in View a Character which Your Modesty

A 4 en-

iv DEDICATION.

endeavours to conceal. It were now useless to consider *Your Lordship* in Your Publick Capacities; for I am sure there is no True Patriot who is not sufficiently convinced that he is truly and faithfully represented by You in the Great Council of the Nation. Every one knows with what generous Views, with what *Roman*-like Sentiments, You always pursue, in that August Assembly, the Welfare of *Great Britain*, and the Prosperity of the *Protestant*

DEDICATION. V

stant Succession; a bright, a wonderful Example of Heroism, which neither the Allurements of Interest or Ambition, nor the Prejudices of contending Parties have yet been able to stagger or to obscure. But I fear, the Faintness of my Description, will rather injure, than set off *Your Lordship's* Noble Character. I leave the Task therefore to an abler Pen; and in the mean while beg *Your Lordship's* favourable Acceptation of *Masaniello*, upon this Account only, that he loved his

vi DEDICATION.

his Country and died for  
it. I am with a profound  
Submission,

*My LORD,*

*Your Lordship's*

*most humble,*

*most obedient and*

*devoted Servant,*

Francis Midon.

TO



TO THE  
READER.

**O**f all the strange Events and Transactions that have happened in different Ages of the World, there is certainly none more extraordinary and surprizing either in itself, or its Circumstances, than the Rise of Mafaniello, and the Commotions which he fomented in the Kingdom of Naples, in the Year 1647. And yet, (which is very strange) there is scarce any Part of History which we have a less

## viii To the Reader.

less tolerable Account of than of this. Several Authors have indeed treated on this Subject, in French, in Latin, and in Italian: But many of them, byassed by this, or by that Party, have written as their opposite Interests suggested to them, and by an unjust Partiality, represented Things to the Advantage only of that particular Faction they adhered to. Others, tho' more sincere, have, through a blameable Inadvertency, or rather for Want of due Information, omitted several Passages of the greatest Importance, whilst they dwell tediously upon such as are minute and far less worthy of Observation. And another Sort again, though perhaps neither so partial as the former, nor so ignorant as the latter, have nevertheless, stuffed their Relations with so many foreign and impertinent Digressions, and crowded the Incidents they treat of, with so little Order and Method, that they

## To the Reader. ix

they give no manner of Pleasure or Satisfaction to their Readers. Such is Alexander Giraffy's *History of the Revolutions of Naples*, in which, tho' the Author (to do him Justice) is sometimes very exact, especially in Matters of less Moment, yet, besides the Faults before mentioned, he is not exempt from manifest Contradictions and Absurdities, some of the most material of which I have taken Notice of in its proper Place. In the Year 1650, the ingenious Mr. Howel, published his Translation of this Author, with a Success, far different from that of his other Works; and that Translation is the only Thing that I have met with upon this Subject in English.

These are the Motives that induced me to this Undertaking; and to make it as compleat as possible, I have consulted the best Memoirs and Manuscripts.

x To the Reader.

scripts I could light upon; but, as they are very scarce, and for the most Part quite unknown to an English Reader, I think it altogether unnecessary to mention them. I must own however, that as I look upon the Count of Modena to have written with more Candour and Impartiality than any printed Author upon this Subject, I have generally given him the Preference where he differs from other Historians, unless indeed there was an apparent Cause of doing otherwise. But I think myself particularly obliged, (and am even proud) to acknowledge, that I received no inconsiderable Assistance from a Manuscript, which was communicated to me by a learned Gentleman, the Author of it, whose Name, could I obtain his Leave to insert it here, would do the greatest Honour to me and to this Performance.

To

To conclude, I have endeavoured to set forth the History of Mafaniello in its true and genuine Light. I have as little as possible interrupted the Thread of the Narration with idle and prolix Diggessions or Reflections; nor (as I hope) will the Stile of it appear any-where forced or affected. But I have chiefly studied to avoid the Imputation of Partiality which other Writers upon this Subject have been so justly taxed with. After all, I am far from pretending to be free myself from Faults and Imperfections, and therefore if any of them should be animadverted upon me, I shall endeavour to rectify them, and in the mean Time willingly submit myself to the Censure of the Publick.

P. S. The Reader is desired not to take Offence at certain Epithets, he may sometimes meet with in the following Work, such as The most holy Mo-

xii To the Reader.

Mother of Carmine, The holy Host, &c. They were occasioned by the Author's following too closely, the Originals he had before him: But, as he was not sensible of his Mistake, till the Sheets were printed, he hopes, this Acknowledgment will suffice to protect him from any Reflections that might be cast on him upon that Account.

THE



THE  
P R E F A C E  
By Way of  
*INTRODUCTION.*



THE ancient Kingdom of *Naples*, after many Changes and Revolutions, submitted to the Power of the House of *Austria*. The *Neapolitans* were a great Support to this Illustrious Family, and by large and voluntary Contributions, gave the utmost Evidence of Fidelity and Obedience to it. They relieved *Alphonso I.* by a free Imposition of ten \* Carlines upon every Fire through the whole Territory; five Carlines were added and settled upon *Ferdinand* and his Successors for ever; and

\* A Carline is worth about 6d. i 5th of our Money.

B by

2 The PREFACE by Way of  
by Degrees the Tax was raised to 66  
July, 1647. Carlines, which is paid to this Day,  
and amounts to Three Millions of Gold  
yearly. Nor was this sufficient to ex-  
press their Affection to the *Austrian*  
Line; for they supplied *Charles V.*  
with ten Donatives that came to Five  
Millions. *Philip II.* was presented  
with 33 Donatives amounting to Thirty  
Millions; and *Philip III.* and *IV.* were  
assisted from the Year 1628, to the  
Year 1647, with a hundred Millions and  
more. But the People suffered by the  
Generosity of their Governours; they  
were oppressed with heavy Exactions;  
and at last all Commodities were tax'd  
to raise these Subsidies; the necessary  
Provisions for the Support of Life  
grew dear, which begot popular Dis-  
contents, which at length were so in-  
flamed, that Tumults and Insurrections  
followed, attended with Murder and  
Bloodshed, and other Outrages that  
are the natural Consequences of po-  
pular Fury and Distraction.

His Majesty K. *Philip IV.* of *Spain*  
was very sensible of the Affection of  
the *Neapolitans*, who, without consider-  
ing the Weakness and Inability of the  
People, resolved to present him with a

new

## INTRODUCTION.

3

new Donative: But all Commodities being already taxed, it was difficult to contrive a Method to raise the Money, so that they were obliged in the present Necessity to lay a Gabel (or Tax) upon Fruits: All sorts were included, as well dry as green; as Mulberries, Grapes, Figgs, Apples, Pears and Plumbs; whereby the common sort of People were deprived of their usual Nourishment and Support, and reduced to the lowest Misery and Distress. This Gabel was collected with Severity for seven Months; but it grew at last insupportable; insomuch, that many poor Wretches having sold all their Household Stuff, even the very Bed they used to lie upon, to pay Part of the Tax, were often obliged to prostitute their Wives and Daughters to the Ministers of the Gabels, only to obtain a short Respite for the Payment of the Remainder: The Kingdom, therefore, resolved to bear the Burden no longer, and to discharge herself not only of this, but of all other Taxes formerly imposed; and the Design had Success beyond Expectation. Nature has certainly fixed strong Impressions of Liberty in the Minds of Men: They

4 *The PREFACE by Way of*

are unwilling to bring their Necks under the Yoke ; and tho' they are used with Moderation and Tenderness, they are scarce confined within the Bounds of Obedience ; but Slavery and Oppression make them mad ; and Poverty begets Despair ; so that *Tacitus* observed justly, that the People rush upon Precipices and Destruction, when heavy Loads and Exactions are laid upon them.

The Royal City of *Naples* is full of People, and many Families were undone by the Weight of Taxes ; but this Gabel upon Fruit was the greatest Grievance, and they resolved not to indure it. They had often by their Agents, represented the Hardships of this Act, to the most Excellent the Duke of *Arcos*, Viceroy of the Kingdom ; the Women and Children wou'd often meet him in the Street, and with miserable Cries and Lamentations beg of him to release the Gabel ; and the Citizens of *Lavinaro*, and other Quarters, placed themselves in Companies, as he pass'd upon a Day thro' the Market-Place, to pay his Devotion to the most holy Mother of *Carmine*, at the Church of the *Carmelites*, and  
pe-

## INTRODUCTION. 5

petitioned him in a Body, to remit the Tax. The Viceroy seeing himself surrounded by such a Multitude of Men, Women and Children, who, with uplifted Hands, begg'd Relief, was forced, to appease them, to stop his Coach, and promise that in a Day or two he would give them Satisfaction. Upon the *Sunday* following as he was going to the Church aforesaid, he observed a great Disorder and Murmuring among the People; who did not petition him as before, but peremptorily demanded a Release of the Tax, and threatned him in case of Denial: These were Presages of the Commotions that followed. The Viceroy was so terrified, that he promised to take off the Gabel, and return'd with such Apprehensions of Fear to his Palace, that he wou'd venture no more to go to the Church of *Carmine*, and would not suffer the Festival of *St. John the Baptist* to be celebrated, that us'd to be annually solemnized at *Naples*; and this he did, to prevent any Disturbance that might arise from so vast a Concourse of People, when they were got together in one Place.

Some

## 6 The PREFACE by Way of

Some Time after, Father Don *Stefano Pepa*, one of the most famous Preachers of the Order of the *Theatins*, who had several Congregations under his Care; by Means of which, his Influence was great over the People, assured the Viceroy, in a private Conference he had with him, that he could perceive by the Confessions that were made to him, that they were exasperated to a very high Degree; especially on Account of the Fruit-Tax, which seem'd to be level'd at the poor People alone; whereas all former Gabels and Impositions were equally born by all the several Members of the State: He told his Excellency, 'twas to be feared that these Complaints were the Fore-runners of an Insurrection, and therefore prayed him to abolish the Gabel upon Fruit, telling him, that he made no Question, but as soon as the People should be exonerated of this Burden, they would return to their former Duty and Obedience.

Yet, notwithstanding this wholesome Advice, the Viceroy, who was naturally indolent, and unfixed in his Resolutions, neglected doing any thing in

## INTRODUCTION. 7

in this Affair, thinking it would drop of itself: But he was greatly mistaken; for the Populace, enraged, that the Gabel, contrary to the Promise given them, still continued, began to grow outrageous; they now proceed to Action; and upon a Night, they set Fire to a Baracca of Powder, in the Market-Place where the Fruit-Tax was exacted; this they did again, and the Damage was afterwards repaired at the publick Charge. The Incendiaries were at Work to enrage and blow up the Fire; sharp and bitter Invectives, full of popular Grievances, were publish'd and dispers'd; the publick Officers were threatned with Ruin and Death; and these insolent Libels were fixed in the most publick Places of the City.

But what gave the greatest Encouragement to the Rioters, was the Example of the *Sicilians*, especially those of *Palermo*, who had by Force of Arms and popular Insurrections, obtained from the most Excellent the Marquis of *Velez*, Viceroy of that Kingdom, a Release of the principal Taxes, and a Moderation of the rest. He afterwards gave them a general Pardon for all Excesses and Outrages;

8 The PREFACE by Way of  
for opening of Prisons, for Murthers,  
Thefts, for taking up Arms in the  
Country, and other Offences; so that  
the People of *Naples* taking Courage  
from the Success of their Neighbours,  
thought they had a Right to the same  
Treatment, and insisted upon their  
Merits, pleading, that they were a  
free-born People, and had by their  
Donatives, contributed largely to the  
Support and Grandeur of the *Spanish*  
Monarchy.

There were two Acts of Grace  
published in *Sicily*, in Favour of the  
People.

*HIS Excellency by this present Act,*  
*to be always in Force, does take*  
*off and abolish to Perpetuity, the Tax*  
*upon Meal, Wine, Oil, Flesh and Cheese,*  
*throughout all this City and Territory*  
*of Palermo for ever.*

*In Palermo, this 21st of May, 1647.*  
*The Marquis of Velez.*

*Subscribed by all the Officers*  
*of the Patrimony, and like-*  
*wise by the Civil and Cri-*  
*minal Court, and by the*  
*principal Notary of the*  
*Kingdom.*

THE

## INTRODUCTION. 9

THE Prisons of the Vicaria being this Night broke open, and the Prisoners set at Liberty, and his Excellency being sensible that the Prisoners therein contained were innocent, he does by this present Act pardon all and every one of the said Prisoners; and also his Excellency does acquit and pardon those who were found unreleas'd in the said Prisons: His Excellency does moreover give Grace and Pardon upon the Word and Faith of a King, to all the said Prisoners, as well for the Delinquency of Flight, as for all other Delinquencies for which they were imprison'd.

*The Marquis of Velez.*

*Don Livo Pente, President of Justice.*

These Privileges and Immunities obtained by the *Sicilians*, spirited up the People of *Naples*, who resolved to recover the same Freedom; and you cou'd not pass the Streets without hearing, *What, are not we as valuable Subjects as those of Palermo? Are not we equally formidable and brave, if we could but unite to redress our Grie-*

10 *The PREFACE by Way of  
Grievances?* Let us lye no longer  
under our Burdens: Death is more  
acceptable than Misery: To Arms;  
To Arms: Let us rise as one Man,  
and that instantly: There's nothing like  
the present Moment; our Time is pre-  
cious; Delays may breed Danger. The  
Streets rung with these and such muti-  
nous Expressions; and the same Fer-  
ment was kept up in Clubs and Ga-  
bals, where the People met and gave  
Vent to their Passions, by threatening  
their Governours, and encouraging one  
another to shake off their Chains, and  
recover themselves into a Free State.  
The Viceroy was soon made acquainted  
with these Disorders; and finding Mat-  
ters growing ripe for an Insurrection,  
frequently assembled the six Quarters  
or Precincts of the City, consisting of  
the fifth Part of the Gentry, and the  
sixth of the People; to advise against  
the Dangers that threatened, and by all  
Means to take off the Gabel upon  
Fruits, which was the greatest Grie-  
vance. This Proposal was very agree-  
able to the Populace; and had it  
immediately been executed, would have  
prevented the Calamities that follow'd;  
but because it would have been preju-  
dicial

dicial to the Farmers, the Design had no Success: For these Publicans used all their Interest with the Visitor-General of the Kingdom, to prevail upon the Viceroy, to continue the Tax 'till the Month of *August* following; and to this End, they presented his Lady with Fifteen Thousand Ducats. The Visitor, not able to resist the Gold, persuaded the Viceroy to continue the Tax notwithstanding his Promise; and for his own private Advantage, insinuated that it would reflect upon his Honour, to submit to the insolent Importunities of a Mob, consisting of a few Rascally Fellows, who made all the Noise to throw every Thing in Confusion, that they might the better fish in troubled Waters; and therefore he advis'd him to repair the Toll-house for Fruit that was burn'd down; which he did, but resolved at the same Time to take off the Tax, and find out a Way to qualify the Heats of the discontented People on the one Side, and the Nobility, Gentry and Merchants of *Naples* on the other, who had advanced to the Publick upon that Gabel, above Six Hundred Thousand Crowns on Account of the Capital Million, and Eighty

12 *The PREFACE, &c.*

Eighty five Thousand Crowns of annual Rent.

This Healing Scheme was told abroad to the Disadvantage of the Government; and the jealous Populace suspected, that in the Place of the Gabel upon Fruit, a new Tax was to be levied upon Corn and Wine, which threw them into the utmost Rage; and they gave out, that they would sooner die than suffer such Impositions, and insisted, that the Gabel upon Fruit should be quite abolished, and no new Burden laid, to pay off the Debt that was contracted upon it.

Affairs being in this Posture, and every Thing concurring to a Rebellion, an Opportunity unexpectedly offer'd upon the 7th of *July*, in the Year 1647, that fully answer'd the Purpose. The Account that I shall give of it, will proceed regularly from Day to Day, and nothing shall be related but what comes from Authority and good Credentials; that so surprizing an Event may appear exactly in the Manner it was brought about; and be faithfully transmitted, for the Improvement and Information of Posterity.

THE



THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
RISE and FALL  
OF  
*MASSANIELLO,*  
THE  
Fisherman of *Naples.*



Young Fellow about 24 Years old, happened to live in a Corner of the great Market-Place of *Naples*, of a sprightly, active Disposition, pleasant and humorous, of a confident, bold Address, and of a middle Stature, blackey'd,

ey'd, sharp and piercing, his Body rather lean than fat, with short cropped Hair, and a Mariner's Cap upon his Head: He wore long Linnen Slops or Drawers, a blue Waistcoat, and went bare-foot; but he had a daring, enterprizing Countenance, and a good Share of stern Resolution and rough Courage, as the Consequences will soon shew. He got his Living by angling for small Fish with a Cane, Hook and Line, and sometimes he bought Fish in the Market, and retail'd them to his Neighbours who lived near him; in short, he was one of those whom the Neapolitans call *Pescivendoli*: The Name of this poor Fellow was *Tomaso Anello* of *Amalfi*, but vulgarly and by Contraction called *Massaniello*. He lived in a Corner of the Market-Place, and it strāngely happened, that under one of the Windows of his House, were fixed the Arms and the Name of *Charles V.* of a very antient standing; and this was understood to be a mysterious Presage of what happen'd afterwards; that this Retailer of Fish, as he would often say pleasantly himself, should restore the City to a State of Exemption and Liberty, and recover

cover and establish the Charter of Privileges, that were granted by that great and invincible Monarch to the People of *Naples*.

Give me Leave to observe upon this Occasion, that about a Hundred Years since, in the Year 1547, (as *John Antonio* gives the Account in his *Neapolitan History*) there was a violent Disturbance under the Administration of *Don Pero de Toledo*, occasioned by the Tribunal of the *Holy Inquisition*, which *Philip II.* designed to introduce. There started up at that Time a *Massaniello*, who put himself at the Head of the Mob; he was a *Sorrentine* and a Banditto Captain, and was principally concerned in raising and keeping up the Tumults. But tho' the Nobility, at that Time, engaged and acted in Concert with the People, those Commotions were attended with no great Misfortunes, nor was the Ferment of any long Continuance. And if the Nobles and the People had united at this Time, it would certainly have prevented many of the Calamities that followed thro' the Heat and Violence on both Sides. For how can the Common-wealth suffer more than by the Dis-

## 16 RISE and FALL of

Discord and Dissention of the Inhabitants? What was the Ruin of *Carthage*, but the two violent Factions of the *Barchiniani* and the *Hannoniani*? What was the Cause of a War in *France* for above Sixty Years, but the Contention between the Houses of *Burgundy* and *Orleans*? What occasioned so much Desolation to the Kingdom of *England*, when so much Blood was spilt, and so many dreadful Battles were fought, wherein Eighty Princes of the illustrious Blood were slain, but the Faction kept up between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*? And what confounded and destroyed the Happiness and Tranquility of the *Florentine* Republick, but the Difference between the Families of *Bianchi* and *Neri*? In short, so destructive as a Fever is to the Body natural, so fatal is Sedition and Tumult to a City or a Kingdom. A City is fitly compared to a Ship, and Divisions are the Leaks, through which, while the Mariners are quarrelling and contending one with the other, a Torrent of Water rushes in and drowns all. The wise Pilot who has the Government, should provide seasonably for the stopping of those Leaks, and make

up the Breaches before it be too late. He should be the sole Director, and trust no-body with the Helm, at least, not commit it to factious and turbulent Spirits, who are unable to steer in bad Weather; and, in Case of Distress, are fitter to promote, than prevent a Shipwreck.

This *Masaniello*, from a Kind of natural Graft, observing that Murmurs and Discontent prevailed in every Corner of the Town, and that the People were ripe for Disturbance, took this Opportunity to publish his Designs. Upon a Day, (which was about four Days before the most holy Festival of *Corpus Domini*) he was going home in a violent Passion; and it being in his Way to pass by the Church of *Carmine*, where the famous Banditto *Perone*, with two more of his Companions, had fled for the Benefit of Refuge, one of them asked him, What was the Matter that he was so angry, and so much out of Humour? He replied in a great Rage, *I'll be bound to be hang'd, if I don't see Justice done upon those Villains; I'll put an End to the Oppressions upon the People of Naples, or I'll lose my Life.* They fell a laughing;

## 18 RISE and FALL of

ing, and jeer'd him, saying, *Thou art a rare Fellow to set up for a Patriot; thou pretend to right the City?* *Masaniello* answered, *You may laugh, and be as merry as you please; but I swear by the living God, if I had two or three of my Mettle that would stand by me; you should see what Work I'd make with the Rogues:* They asked him, *What Method he would take? Will you joyn with me?* says he. They told him, they would with all their Hearts; they shook Hands upon it, and, having vow'd to go through with the Cause they had undertaken, they parted, and *Masaniello* went about his Business.

But he had not been long at Home before he met with fresh Provocation; for some of the Officers of the Customs having accidentally met his Wife in the Street, as she was carrying a small Quantity of counterband Flower in her Apron, they laid Hold on her, and hauled her to Prison; and, without having the least Regard to the Tears and Intreaties of her Husband, would not let her go, till he had sold all his Goods, to pay a Fine of an Hundred Ducats, which was the Price they had

had set on her Liberty. This barbarous Extortion struck so deep into the Heart of this young Man, who was naturally choleric, that he immediately meditated upon the Means of being revenged; and considering how the People were enraged by the Gabel upon Fruit, he made Use of that Pretence, and running up and down among the Fruit-Shops that were in that Quarter, complained loudly of the Cruelty of the Tax, and engaged them to come in a Body to the Market-Place, and there declare publickly to the Country Fruiterers, That it was in vain for them to bring their Fruit to Market, for they would not buy one Basket till the Gabel was taken off.

While this was doing the Tumult increased; and the Noise of it was carried to all the Shops in the Town; and to suppress the Disorder, *Andreas Anaclerio*, Elect of the People, who was chosen that very Day, repaired with all Haste to the Market-Place, where the Fruit was exposed to Sale; and finding every Thing in Confusion, and the Shop-keepers crying out, that they would buy no Gabel'd Fruit, he used soft and mollifying Words, and

## 20 RISE and FALL of

with much Difficulty perswaded them to pay the Gabel for that one Time, and it should be exacted of them no more: Which, at last, they complied to do, and so the Matter was adjusted, and the People returned home. *Mafaniello* finding himself disappointed, and that nothing was to be done there, still continued his Purpose; and running about the Streets to every Quarter of the Town, he cried out, *No Gabel, no Gabel*; some laugh'd, and took him for a Madman, but his Words made a deep Impression upon others, as will appear by the Event.

When he came home to his Stall in the Market-place, he luckily found a great Number of Boys got together; and when he had insinuated himself among them, he made his Speech, and inveigh'd bitterly against the Cruelty of the Government: *Look ye here*, says he, *my Lads, how we are ridden, Gabel upon Gabel, 36 Ounces the Loaf of Bread, 22 the Pound of Cheese, 6 Granas for Beef, 6 Granas for Pulse, 9 Granas for Veal, 2 Granas the Pint of Wine; Are these Things to be endured? No, my Boys; Get my Words by Heart, and sound them thro' every Street*

Street of the City, but say nothing against the King of Spain; cry only, Let God live, let the Lady of Carmine live; let the Pope live, long live the King of Spain, but let our wicked Government die, let the cursed Government die: The Boys, when they had got their Lesson perfect, followed his Directions, and dispersing themselves in every Corner, cried along the Streets as they were taught, and had the Boldness to go to the Palace, and cry out under the Nose of the Viceroy of the Kingdom: And indeed, the Complaint was in some measure just, though the Method of Redress was criminal, for at that Time every Commodity above-named bore the same Price that *Masaniello* set upon it. This Tumult of the Children set the City in an Uproar, and their Noise made different Impressions on the People; some fell a-laughing at the Odness of the Thing, but others began to be in Pain for the Consequences. The Boys were often ask'd what was the Matter, and who set them at Work? They answered they were the Scholars of *Masaniello* the Fisherman: And when his Neighbours jested upon him about his Conduct, as

22 RISE and FALL of

a Man perfectly distracted and out of his Wits, he replied seriously, *You may laugh at me now, but you shall soon see what this Fool Mafaniello can do; let me alone, and give me my Way, and if I don't set you free from all your Taxes, and all the Slavery that now grinds you to Death, may I be cursed, and called a Villain for ever.*

This frantick Answer confirmed them the more that the Man was raving and out of his Senses; but *Mafaniello* no way affected with this Treatment, attended to his Business, and immediately listed and took the Names of the Boys that followed him, about the Age of 16, 17 and 18, till he compleated a Company of 500; but still Numbers came in, and he went on enrolling till he made up a Regiment of 5000, all choice, and sturdy Lads; and giving them their Lesson against the next Day, he dismiss'd them for that Time, giving every one of them a small weak Cane in their Hands, and appointing them to be ready the next Morning, and he would be their General, and lead them on to Glory and Liberty.

The Devotion of the *Neapolitans* to the Lady of *Carmine*, is so great and so

so universal, that they do not only express it by the Solemnity, with which they celebrate her Festival every Year, on the 16th Day of *July*, but also by several publick Rejoicings and Holidays previous to it. Among other Things, it was a Custom upon these Days, to observe a certain Ceremony, which was, that a Sort of Castle or Tower of Wood was erected in the Midst of the great Market-place, and a Company of Boys who represented the *Turks* used to defend it, whilst another Set of Lads pelted and batter'd it with Sticks and Fruit; and this drew together a great Concourse of People of the meanner Sort, who were much delighted with this mabbish Diversion, which indeed seldom ended without Quarrelling and Bloodshed.

The Morrow, being the 7th of *July*, *July 7th.* came, which was a *Sunday*; and the Castle being then to be stormed, according to Custom, *Masaniello* fail'd not to come to the Market-place, with his Brigade after him. It was about the Hour when the Country Fruiterers used to bring their Fruit to the Market, to pay the Gabel that was set upon it; and such great Quantities were

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## 24 RISE and FALL of

generally brought, that the Officers had a great deal of Trouble in collecting the Tax, and in the Hurry some of the Baskets were overturned, and the Fruit thrown into the Dirt, which served the Boys to scramble for; and a Multitude of them always got together for that Purpose. But upon this Day, the Country Fruiterers sold not a Basket of Fruit, for the Coftermongers of the Town had associated, and resolved not to lay out a Farthing, because they would not encourage the Gabel; and declared they would not buy an Apple till the Tax was abolished. The Countrymen having no Market for their Goods, were enraged, and fell upon the Shop-keepers that were near them with Cudgels; and so a sharp Encounter there was, for they fought it out stoutly on both Sides: Besides, the Citizens wanted to be supplied with Fruit, as usual, and there being none but sorry stale Stuff, that was bought the Day before, they grew uneasy and tumultuous, and the whole City was in a Heat and Confusion. The Account of these Disorders was carried to *Zufia Grassiero*, Regent of the City, who immediately gave Orders to *Anaclerio*, the Elect of the People, to take a

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proper Course with the Rioters, and put an End to the Commotions: He came directly to the Market-place with some Attendants about him, and having used all the Arts of Threatening and Persuasion to little Purpose, for the Tumult ran high, and the two Parties were fiercely engaged, he at last interceeded for a short Cessation of Arms, which was granted, and each Party giving an Account of their Case, he determined in Favour of the Townsmen, and calling the Country Fruiterers, *Foreigners* and *Encroachers*, (most of them being of the City of *Puzzuolo*) he rebuked them severely for the Disturbance they had made, and declared, that if they came there again and broke the Peace, he would have them bastinado'd to the Purpose, and condemn'd to the Gallies.

Among the Countrymen of *Puzzuolo*, there was a noisy Fellow, a near Kinsman of *Masaniello's*, who was deeply concerned in the Riot; for the Matter, it seems, was concerted before, between him and *Masaniello*, and he acted up to his Instructions; he not only set the Country and Town together by the Ears, but finding that Fru  
bore

## 24 RISE and FALL of

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26. RISE and FALL of

bore a very low Price, and after he had payed the Gabel and Carriage, there would remain but a Trifle for himself, he affected to be in a violent Passion, and kicking down with his Foot two Baskets of Fruit, he bawled out, *God gives us Plenty, and our cursed Governours give us Famine: Let the Fruit rot and perish, it is not worth picking up, let them take it as will.* *Masaniello* stood ready, watching the Opportunity with his Boys, who fell a-scrambling for the Fruit; and every Thing falling out as he expected, he ran in among the Children and Mob, and cried out, *Without Gabel, without Gabel: Anaclerio* surprised at this Insolence that was acted before his Face, threatned to have him whipt, and then sent to the Gallies: Upon which, the Fruiterers, and the People that were there, pelted him with Figgs and Apples, and other Fruit, till his Face was swelled, and his Eyes almost out of his Head: But *Masaniello* not yet satisfied, took up a Stone as big as he could well manage, and throwing it at *Anaclerio*, hit him full in the Breast. His Militia of Boys follow'd the Example of their Leader, and fell upon

upon the Elect with Stones; who with great Difficulty breaking his Way in a Coach thro' the Crowd, drove away to the Church of *Carmine*, where he found a Felucca, and got safe to the Palace, otherwise he had certainly been torn in Pieces, or stoned to Death by the Boys.

Upon this Success, and encouraged by these hopeful Beginnings, the Rabble flocked together in great Numbers, as well in the Market-place as in other Quarters of the City: They now talked loudly, and without Reserve, of the Oppressions they endured; protesting and publishing in every Street, that they would *be no more Beasts of Burden to be rid by domineering Govenours, who sucked their very Blood: And as for Taxes, they would never pay a Farthing more.* But still they pretended to be mighty loyal, for the general Cry was, *Long live the King of Spain, but let the cursed Government die.* The Fury and Violence of the Populace still increasing, *Masaniello* put himself at the Head of them: He was followed by an infinite Number of Boys, and all Sorts of loose People; some were armed with Sticks, others with

with Pikes and Javelins, and what came first to Hand, or which they had plundered out of the Tower of the *Carmine*: And thus surrounded with his ragged Regiments, he leaped up on the highest Table among the Fruiterers, and demanding Silence, he made this Harangue: *Rejoice, my dear Companions and Countrymen; give God Thanks, and the most gracious Virgin of Carmine, that the Hour of our Redemption, and the Time of our Deliverance draweth near: This poor Fisherman, bare-footed as he is, shall, as another Moses, who delivered the Israelites from the cruel Rod of Pharaoh the Egyptian King, free you from all Gabels and Impositions that were ever laid upon you. It was a Fisherman, I mean St. Peter, who reduced the City of Rome from the Slavery of the Devil to the Liberty of Christ; and the whole World followed that Deliverance, and obtained their Freedom from the same Bondage: Now another Fisherman, one Masa- niello, I am the Man, shall release the City of Naples, and with it a whole Kingdom, from the cruel Yoke of Tolls and Gabels. Shake off, therefore, from this*

this Moment the Yoke; be free, if you have but Courage, from those intolerable Oppressions, under which you have hitherto groaned. To bring this glorious End about, for myself, I don't value if I am torn to Pieces, and dragged up and down the City of Naples through all the Kennels and Gutters that belong to it. Let all the Blood in my Body, spin chearfully out of these Veins; let this Head dance from these Shoulders by the fatal Steel, and be perched up over this Market-place upon a Pole to be gazed at, yet I shall die contented and glorious; it will be Triumph and Honour sufficient for me, to think that my Blood and Life were sacrificed in so worthy a Cause, and that I became the Saviour of my Country.

This marvellous Piece of Oratory was received by the People with universal Applause as it dropp'd from his Mouth; they declared, they were ready to follow where-ever he would lead them; they were mad to be put upon Action: And as a Testimony of their good Affection to the Cause, they immediately threw a lighted Torch into the House that joined to the Toll-House for Fruit, and they

30 RISE and FALL of

they were both in a few Moments consum'd to the Ground, with all the Books of Accounts that belong'd to the Tax, and many Commodities that belong'd to the Farmers of the Customs, that were there laid up.

This Action alarmed the whole City, the Mob increased in every Street, the Citizens shut up their Shops, for Fear of being plunder'd; and many of them joined in the Riot, that they might have a Share of the Spoil. All Things were in the utmost Confusion; the People divided themselves into several Companies, and bent their Course to several Quarters where the Gabel-Houses lay; these they attacked: The Toll-Houses of Fruit, of Corn, Flesh, Fish, Salt, Wine, Oil, Cheese, Silk, of every Thing that was either to be eaten or worn, were broke open, not one of them was spared; they took out of them all the Books of Accounts and Entrance that belonged to the several Gabels, and all the Furniture, as well of the Farmers as others, and every Thing that was pledg'd, or otherwise, as fine Hangings, Chairs, Arms, great Quantities of Money, with other valuable and rich Moveables, Forms, Tables, Stools, all was thrown

thrown into a great Fire made of Straw for that Purpose, and consum'd to Ashes in the Street. There is one Thing remarkable, that in this general Confusion, there was one strict Point of Order observ'd, that in rifling those Houses of the best of Furniture, and great Sums of Money, no Man dared lay his Hand upon any Thing for his own Use, but all was dedicated to the Fire, and destroy'd utterly; because, they said, *the Wealth and Furniture of the Rich, was gotten by squeezing the Poor; and therefore it was the Heart's Blood of the People, and not to be spared upon any Account, or for any Purpose whatsoever.*

The Mob all this While grew confident and audacious, having met with no Opposition; they increased every Hour, and soon made up the Number of 10000: Depending upon their Strength, they boldly advanced towards the Palace of the Viceroy, many of them insolently carrying Loaves of Bread upon the Top of their Pikes, to signify the Dearness of Bread, upon Account of the Tax laid upon Corn, a Loaf not weighing above 22 Ounces; the Cry still continuing, but with greater Vehemence,

*Long*

## 32 RISE and FALL of

Long live the King of Spain, and let  
the cursed Government perish.

The Posse of Boys, consisting of about 2000, marched in the Van with *Masaniello* at the Head of them, and to make the Cavalcade the more affecting, every one tied to the Top of his Cane a sort of Flag of black Cloth; and walking solemnly and dolefully along, they cried out in a most lamentable Tone, *Have Compassion upon those poor Souls suffering in Purgatory, who being unable any longer to endure the barbarous Exactions, and the insupportable Weight of so many Grievances, are contriving to ease and redress themselves: O dear Brothers, join with us in this good Design! O Sisters, lend us your Assistance, to promote so just, so necessary an Undertaking, and so profitable for the Publick Good!* This pitiful Complaint they whined as they went through many Streets, till coming to the Prison of St. James, they violently broke in, and setting the Prisoners at Liberty, they took them into present Service and Protection.

Being come to the Palace, and placing themselves under the Window of the Viceroy, they began to be rude and noisy;

noisy, and demanded positively, to be freed not only from the Tax upon Fruit, but from all other Gabels whatever; especially that laid upon Corn. The Viceroy, surpriz'd with this Attempt, shew'd himself in the Balcony, and complied with them so far as to abolish wholly the Gabel upon Fruit, and Part of the Corn-Tax also: But this Indulgence rather enraged than pacified the People: They cried out, they would not be relieved by Halves, but the Whole should be taken off; bawling out still, *Long live the King of Spain, but cursed be the Government.* Then they pressed hard upon the Palace-Gate, which they forced in Defiance of the *German* and *Spanish* Guards: And a Party of them attempting to go up Stairs to speak with the Viceroy himself, and give him a more particular Account of their Grievances, his Excellency sent positive Orders to the Guard, not to oppose them, but suffer them to come up. But in the Hurry and Confusion that Order was not obeyed, because it could with Difficulty be heard; and the Soldiers thought to make good their Post against the People. But all Resistance was vain: For the Mob forced all Opposition; and

with scarce anything in their Hands but Canes and Clubs, (a Thing almost incredible) and with violent Outcries, they rushed in, and imperiously demanded Audience of the Viceroy: But he was seasonably got out of the Way. They used the Spanish and German Guards with great Insolence and Contempt, and pressed upon them so hard, that they were afraid of their Lives; and to secure themselves, they abandoned their Post, took to their Heels, and made the best of their Way to their Quarters.

The Palace on the Outside was now without Guard and Defence: The Gate was open, and the People entred. The Door of the great Hall they found shut, but they soon broke it open without Difficulty: But attempting to enter the Chamber of Audience, they found there a strong Guard of Dutch Halberdeers, and a Party of Spaniards, who made all possible Resistance: But the Torrent was not to be stopped: The Weight of the People bore down all: They seiz'd the Guard, and made them deliver their Halberds, and other Weapons; so that the Coast being clear'd, they abated of their Violence, and examined leisurely one

one Room after another, till they came at last into the very Apartment where the Viceroy, for Safety had locked himself up in a Closet. They knocked at the Door; but Admittance being denied, they attempted by Force of Halberds and other Instruments to break it open: It stood two or three Shocks, for it was well fortified within by two strong Iron Bolts: But at length the Door was split to Pieces, and there was the Viceroy, who had instantly been torn to Pieces, if he had not been conveyed away by Stratagem, by the Duke *di Castel di Sangro*, and the most noble *Don Ferrant de Carraciolo*, who some Way or other got him out of the Hands of the Mob, who certainly intended to sacrifice him to their Resentments. In this Manner, the Viceroy escaped the fatal Blow that was designed him; and retiring to a Place where he found some Gentlemen of his Attendants, he thought he was not secure, unless he could find a Way into the Castle, where his Dutchess had seasonably withdrawn a little before with her Children, her Ladies and Relations. He sent to see if there was no Danger in the Attempt, and understand-

ing by the Messenger, that the Dutcheis that very Hour had taken up the Drawbridge, he changed his Mind, and resolved to leave the Place where he was, and take Refuge by flying into the next Church, which was dedicated to St. *Lewis*, where there was a Friery of St. *Francisco de Paola*: But first he looked out at the Window, and observing a great Number of People assembled below, he gave them Notice that he was there. He spoke to them in the most obliging Manner, and gave them to understand, that he was willing to remit the Gabel upon Fruit, and give them Satisfaction to the utmost: And to convey his Intentions to them with the greater Certainty, he threw small Schedules of Paper among them, wherein he gave it under his Hand, that the Fruit-Tax should cease, and Part of the Tax upon Corn. But this Proposal was rejected by the People with Indignation; who raised a violent Outcry, and making Signs to him at the Window, insisted that he should come down, and treat personally with them. The Viceroy being afraid lest the House should be fired about his Ears, resolved to come down, and if possible, get into the Church of St. *Lewis*,

*Lewis*, before the Mob knew any thing of his Design.

In the mean time, that Party of the Rabble that got into the Palace, determin'd to strip and gut every Room of it. They tore down the Tapestry and the Glasses, and running from one Room to another with great Fury, they carried off all the Tables, Chairs, Skreens, and other Moveables of Value; and throwing them out into the Yard, they made a Pile of them, and set them on Fire, and burnt them to Ashes. But yet (which was very remarkable in the Height of such popular Distraction) they did not so much as attempt to enter the Apartment of the most Eminent Cardinal *Trivulcio*, who lived in that Palace, and was at Home at the same time, under the greatest Apprehensions of being mob'd to Death.

The Viceroy designed to come down, in Order to his Escape; and for that Purpose had a Coach with two Horses provided at a proper Place to carry him off. St. *Lewis*'s Church was at no great Distance, and therefore he apprehended no great Difficulty in the Design: But he had no sooner stepp'd into the Coach, but some of the Mob spied him, and

him. He began now to think his Life in Danger; especially when the People forced open the Coach-Doors, and presenting two naked Swords to his Breast, they threatned him with instant Death, unless he would take off the Taxes. He promised them, no Doubt, under that Distress, and persuaded them mildly to lay down their Arms and return home: But this gave them no manner of Satisfaction: They would hearken to nothing, unless he would come out of the Coach and treat with them openly; and then somewhat might be done towards quieting the Troubles. His Excellency was forced to comply, and then the Mob began to use him civilly, and with some Respect. Some of them with great Zeal and Submission kissed his Hands; and others upon their Knees intreated him, *Most Excellent Sir, for the Love and Passion of God, disburden us of these heavy Gabels, which prey upon our very Hearts Blood; let us have no more Slavery; let us breath.* The Vice-roy answered with all imaginable Condescension, and gave them his Word that all Taxes should cease from that Moment. But tho' he was outwardly treated with tolerable Regard, and in some

some sort suitably to his Character; yet he did not think himself safe, so long as he was surrounded with such a confused and disorderly Multitude: Therefore, to divert the People, he threw among them some Hundred *Sequins* of Gold, which he had provided for that Purpose, in Case of Necessity. This Project had the designed Effect: For tho' many of them would not be blinded by the Bait, and cried out, that they did not want to be relieved by scattering his Money among them, but to be freed from the Oppression of Gabels; yet, while the greatest Part of them were scrambling for the Gold, his Excellency stepp'd into his Coach, and got safe into the Sanctuary of St. *Lewis*. And he immediately commanded all the Doors of the Church to be shut, as well as of the Monastery that belonged to it.

The People that were busy about the Money, perceiving that the Viceroy had slipp'd out of their Hands, were perfectly outragious, and resolved instantly to pull down the Monastery. They went thither in a Body, and meeting with no Opposition, they batter'd down the first great Gate, and designed to serve the rest in the same Manner; demanding violently

## 40 RISE and FALL of

violently to be released from the Gabels ; and insisting, that his Excellency should deliver to them an Instrument in Writing under his Hand and Seal, that he would abolish their Taxes, and confirm their Privileges to them and their Posterity. The Mob went on with their Work in pulling down the Gates : And lest the Monastery should be pulled down, the Viceroy consider'd how he should put a Stop to their Outrages ; the doing of which would be difficult, their Numbers increasing every Moment. At length he thought it Prudence to open the Window, and speak to them, which he did ; persuading them to give over such violent Methods, to disperse and go home, assuring them, that there should be no more Taxes, but every Thing complied with to their Satisfaction. Nevertheless, the People being jealous they should be deluded, they took no manner of Notice of the Promises of the Viceroy, but continued to batter and pull down another Gate, which was soon done ; and so without more Obstruction, they immediately enter'd the Monastery.

Things being in this Agitation, the most Eminent Cardinal *Filomarino*, Archbishop of *Naples*, used all possible Endeavours

deavours to appease the Populace. This most Reverend Prelate was always zealous and active in his Pastoral Charge, and devoted all his Labours to the Service of God and the Good of his Church: He was sensible what Calamities attend upon such Disorders, and that Discord and Sedition among the People, had contributed more to the Ruin and Desolation of Cities and Kingdoms, than all the Stratagems and hostile Attempts of foreign and professed Enemies. And therefore, to prevent the Miseries of Fire and Sword that must necessarily ensue, he went in his Coach to the Monastery, and applied himself with great Courtesy and Condescension to the Mob, intreating them, that they would desist from such violent and unjustifiable Methods, and submit to have their Grievances redress'd in a legal Way. They answered, but respectfully enough, that they could not be satisfied till the Viceroy had deliver'd to them the Instrument they had demanded, which was to confirm a Release of all the Taxes, especially those laid upon Corn and Fruit. His Eminence replied, that he would be an Advocate for them, and endeavour to obtain it: And so going out of his Coach, he went

in Person through the thickest of the People, who made Way for him, till he came to another Gate that was in immediate Danger of being pull'd down by the Mob. But as soon as they saw the Archbishop, the Heat of their Rage was abated; for they professed the utmost Reverence and Veneration for him: Yet notwithstanding, they insisted upon a Redress of their Grievances, and that the Taxes might be abolish'd. The Archbishop promised to use his Interest, and engaged to bring them the Instrument signed and sealed as they desired. But considering, that if he left the People, and waited in Person upon the Viceroy, they might return to their former Fury and Distraction; he thought it more prudential to send a Messenger to his Excellency, with an Excuse that he did not come himself; and desiring, that he would send the Instrument confirmed as it should be, with all possible Dispatch. The Charter was soon drawn up, signed, sealed, and sent to the Archbishop, with a Desire at the same Time, that he would deliver it with his own Hands to the People. He immediately stepp'd into his Coach, and holding the written Instrument in his Hand visibly, that every one might see it,

it, he drove away without Opposition, drawing the whole Body of the Mob after him all along *Toledo-Street*; every one pressing towards the Coach to be satisfied what it contained. The Coach stopped in a convenient Place, and the Archbishop read out the Charter to the People; which was no sooner done, but they cried out one and all, that they were *cheated and imposed upon*; for, that *Instrument signified no more, than that the Gabel upon Fruit, and seven Carlines upon Wheat were taken off*: But they insisted, that *most, if not all of the other Taxes should be abolished*; especially those that were imposed since Charles V. The Archbishop perceiving that no healing Measures would be heard while the Mob continued in that Ferment, delivered the Instrument to the Head of the People, who was appointed for that Purpose; and then retired to his Palace without Opposition.

The Mob who followed the Cardinal, finding they were cheated, hasted away to the great Market-place, where a great Multitude of their Fellows were got together; and, having given an Account of the Contents of the Instrument, they came to a Resolution, that it was but

*Satis-*

Satisfaction in Part; that their Grievances were still unredressed; and therefore, it was necessary for the common Defence of the Faithful People of Naples, (for this was their distinguishing Title) to form themselves into regular Bodies; and to list a sufficient Number of Men, that would recover their Rights, and procure them a total Discharge from Taxes. Then they broke up; and a Party of them, consisting of Thousands of Men and Boys, marched directly to the Palace; and another Company took their Way towards the Monastery of St. Lewis, and resolved to force open the Gates, which by this time were fortified against them. The first Attack they made was upon that Part of the Monastery where many Lords and Ladies, and Persons of the first Quality had taken Shelter: But they were vigorously repulsed by the Spanish Guards; and particularly, a Captain lay about him furiously with his Sword, and the Soldiers fired upon them with their Muskets; which did Execution among the Rabble, and many of them lay dead upon the Spot. During this Encounter, the Ladies had Time to retire, and to secure themselves in the Friars Cells; and

and the Viceroy, by the Assistance of the Abbot of the Convent, found an Opportunity to scale the Walls, and got safely into the Monastery of *Jesuits*; from whence he was soon removed by some of his *Spaniards*, who carried him in an old Sedan, and lodged him in the Castle of St. *Elmo*.

It was soon noised abroad, that the Viceroy had made his Escape out of the Monastery, which prevented any further Outrage upon that Place: For, the Rabble drew off together, and marched directly to the Palace, which they resolved to seize into their own Hands, by disarming the *Spaniards* that kept the Guard: But they compounded, by delivering to the Rabble their Drums and Half Pikes; but their Swords and Musquets they were allowed to keep. In this Distraction they left the Palace, and dispersed themselves to all Quarters of the City, where any of the *Spanish* Guards were set; whom they immediately attack'd, and took away their Arm. Then they marched into the Suburbs of *Chiagia*, to the Palace of *Don Tiberio de Garaffa*, Prince of *Bisignano*, who was Field-Master, and Colonel-General of the Battalion of *Naples*. This Nobleman,

man, by his Affability and good Qualities, had recommended himself to the Affection of the People, who perfectly adored him, and in this Exigency depended much upon his Protection and Advice. They addressed him with great Respect and Submission, and intreated him to be their Defender, and intercede for them with the Viceroy, that the cruel Oppression of the Taxes might be taken off, and their Privileges be confirmed to them, as they were established by Charles V.

But before the Prince of *Bisignano* could send his Answer to the People, a great Number of Men ran furiously to the Toll-House, where they exacted the Gabel upon Fruit at *Chiagia*, and immediately set Fire to the House, and burnt it down to the Ground, with all the Books of Accounts and Entries, Furniture and Goods that were in it. The Mob still increased by continual Supplies: The Suburbs were filled with the confused Multitude of People: And the Heads of them observing their Numbers, divided them into two Squadrons, or rather into two Armies. By this Time, the Prince of *Bisignano* came out among them on Horse-back. A Company of

of the lesser Boys drew up in a Circle about him, and cried, *No Gabels; no Taxes.* He desired them to observe some Order, and not ruin themselves and the City of Naples by such violent Proceedings; for nothing could be done in such Heat and Distraction: And, as for the Gabels, he promised they should soon be taken off. But the People, no Way satisfied, kept up the Cry, and conducting the Prince by the Palace and the Castle, and the most popular Streets of the City, they brought him at last to the great Market-place. Here were got together above Fifty Thousand of the Rabble, all uniting in a general Out-cry, *Down with the Gabels, down with the Gabels.* The Prince was astonished at the Fury of the Multitude, and concluded it impossible to appease them: He spoke to them with the greatest Courtesy, and assured them of his Inclinations to serve them: But all to no Purpose, till at last he considered that Religion might possibly make Impression upon their Minds; and the Church of the most Holy Lady of Carmine being conveniently at Hand, he led them thither; and placing himself upon an Eminence, from whence he might be heard,

heard, with a Crucifix in his Hands, he intreated them in the most solemn Manner: He prayed, exhorted and conjured them, *by the Passion and Love of God, and for the Sake of the blessed Virgin his Patroness, that they would give over their Rage, and suffer their Affairs to be settled in a regular Way:* He promised them, and gave his Oath for it, that he would intercede for them to the Viceroy, and obtain a Redress of their Grievances to their full Satisfaction. But the People, ever jealous of their Privileges, cried out, that *Words and Promises were but Wind; and that they would never disperse, and let the Power slip out of their Hands, till the Taxes were abolish'd, and they were establish'd in their Liberties.* The Prince finding their Fury was not to be opposed, led them out of Church again into the Market-place; and continued with them, conceiving that an Opportunity might offer when they would hearken to Reason: And he often applied to them for that Purpose, and assured them, *that he would make their Cause his own, which he would never give up, till the Peace and Privileges of the City were settled upon the Foot they*

*they desired.* But though they used him with all outward Respect; yet they were in too great a Ferment, to subside and grow cool by Persuasions only.

The Multitude increased every Moment; and fresh Recruits flocked in from all Corners of the City. This additional Strength made them more outragious; and so they marched in a great Body, to the Prisons of *Santa Maria d'Agnone*, and of *Santa Archangelo*; which they resolved to force and break open. The Keepers, assisted by a Company of the Guards, attempted to resist; but they soon bore down, and with great Difficulty got off with their Lives. The Gates flew open, which they immediately unhinged, and threw into the Street; and so a general Jayl Delivery ensued; and all the Prisoners were set at Liberty. Then they fell to stripping the Rooms, and rifling what came to their Hands; and finding the Records and Court-Books, which contain'd the Proceedings against the Prisoners, they tore them in Pieces, and made a Fire of them, where they were burnt to

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50 *Rise and Fall of*

Ashes. Thus they did, to the Prisons that belonged to the Manufactures of Wool and Silk; and notwithstanding the Reverence they professed to the Person of the Archbishop, yet they forced the Prison that was his Peculiar; burnt the Journals of the Court; and the Prisoners were let out. They directed their Course next to the Prisons of the *Nunciatura* and of the *Vicaria*, which they determined to force as they had done the rest: But some of them were against this Violence; for they insisted, *that they were Royal Prisons, and formerly had been Palaces of their Kings; and therefore were to be treated with more Respect.* But this Argument was rejected by the major Part of the Rabble, who attack'd the Gates with their usual Fury. The Keepers and Warders within, were prepared to receive them; for they expected a Visit from them, and so a sharp Action followed. But at last, with much Persuasion, the most Excellent Prince of *Bisignano*, whom they thus obliged to go along with them, put an End to the Encounter; for he told them,

*the*

the Prisoners within, were none but Foreigners, Murderers, and Thieves; and to give Liberty to such Villains, were to let loose a Cry of Wolves, who would soon return to their old Trade of Robbing and cutting of Throats.

Their next Attempt was dreadful; for they set no Bounds to their Fury. They steered away from these Prisons which happened to escape, towards the *Dogana*, or Toll-House for Corn; and (which was terrible to behold) they carried Faggots upon their Backs, and Fire and Pitch in their Hands; and forcing the Gates they made a Pile and set all on Fire. The Building was soon consumed; but they would not stir off the Spot 'till all was reduced to Ashes. The Prince of *Bisignano* was astonished at their Rage, and used all possible Arts to prevent this Mischief. But what can oppose the Madness of an enraged Populace? His Arguments rather increased than abated the Distraction. This Exploit concluded in the Destruction of vast Quantities of Corn that was there laid tip; great Sums of Money that be-

E 2 longed

52 RISE and FALL of

longed to the Officers of the Toll-House; and all the Furniture and Household-Goods, which without Distinction perished in the Flames.

Having glutted themselves with this horrid Spectacle, they drew off, and went up to the Piazza of *St. Lawrence's* Church. Hither the Prince of *Bisignano* followed them, tho' with no great Success: Yet he continued to use his Endeavours to restore Peace to the City: But the Torrent was too strong to be opposed; all Persuasion was lost, and confounded by the Noise of the Multitude; whose Spirits were too inflamed, to be argued into Temper. They attempted to enter the Church, and so go into the Cloysters, which was the Way leading to the Steeple, where the great Bell hung: But they met with a strong Resistance by some Banditti within, who had fled there for Sanctuary: Two of them however fell a Sacrifice to the People's Rage, and were killed upon the Spot. The more sober Part of the Populace by this Time began to dread the Event, and to be in Pain for the Consequences that might follow: But they

they had no great Advantage at this Time, tho' indeed there were some Incendiaries got among them, who still kept up their Spirits, and added Fuel to the Flames. Among these particularly was a *Sicilian*, who seemed to be rather a Devil in human Shape than a Man; and dealt about him, as if he had been possessed by all the Furies of Hell. It is incredible almost, with what Fury and Intrepidity this Fellow behaved: He was foremost in all Danger; and was tearing and pulling down with the Flames raging about his Ears: He was the Head of the Rabble; would lead them to Action; and if they shew'd any Signs of Fear, he would upbraid them with *Cowardice*, and call them *a Pack of poor spirited Wretches, that did not deserve the Privileges they were contending for*: And with such Sort of Harangues, he set their Blood in a Flame, and gave them no Time to cool. But the Justice of Heaven found this Villain out: For he was shot dead from the Tower of *St. Laurence*, by a Musquet-Ball which took him full in the Forehead.

The Prince of *Bisignano* was now tired with the Fatigue he had undergone: He had been many Hours on Horseback, and the Season being extremely hot, was ready to faint; for he was a Person of a very tender Constitution, not able to endure Hardship, and was almost suffocated by the Multitude of People that thronged about him. All Attempts to Peace and Accommodation he found were fruitless; and therefore he resolv'd to disengage himself from the Tumult as soon as he could: But this was not to be abruptly done; and therefore he address'd himself to the Rabble, who began to be tired after their Day's Work, and persuaded them to separate into Parties, and take up their Quarters that Night in several Parts of the City; so that on the Morrow, they might easily come to the Common Rendezvous, and they should find him ready to obey their Commands; but insisted, that they should commit no Hostilities, and burn no more Houses till the Morning. The People thought the Proposal reasonable; and while they were dividing themselves into Com-

Companies, the Prince conveyed himself out of the Crowd and got off safely. He retired to the House of a near Relation, where, after he had stayed a short Time to refresh himself, towards the Close of the Evening he was carried in a Sedan into *Castelnovo*, and *blessed God, that he had escaped with Life, out of the Hands of a distracted and implacable People.*

But the Rabble soon found what the Prince intended by dividing them; and concluding, that their Safety lay in staying together, they united again; and perhaps had they found the Prince, his Life might have been in Danger: But upon Enquiry, he was gone; and the People perceiving they were without a Head, cried out one and all for *Masaniello*, who first set on Foot the Recovery of their Liberties. The barefooted Fisherman appeared; and after they had complimented him with the great Titles of being *the Saviour and Father of his Country*, they made him their General. The Fellow briskly accepted of the Command; and not troubling them with Speeches of his

own Inability, as the Custom is, he told them, *they should find him no Scoundrel*; for all the Blood in his Body was at their Service, and he would either put an End to their Grievances, by abolishing those cursed Gabels; or he would die in the Attempt. This Declaration was received by the Rabble with loud Huzzas: And the first Thing done by the new General, was, by Beat of Drum thro' the whole City and Suburbs, to summon the People to Arms, against the Tyranny of the Government, and the Oppression of the Taxes.

The Calamities that threatned the City by these Tumults and Distracti-  
ons, moved some of the Religious  
Orders to go in Procession thro' the  
City: And this they did, not only  
to soften the Fury of the Rabble, by  
the Gravity and Solemnity of their  
Appearance; but from a Principle of  
religious Zeal, to implore the Di-  
vine Assistance and Mercy, that God  
would be pleased to put a Stop to  
the Miseries that hung over their  
Heads, by setting Bounds to the  
Madness of the People. The most  
Re-

Reverend Fathers the \* *Theatins* have six Churches in the City. From two of these, that of *St. Paul*, and of the *Holy Apostles*, went out of each, a Hundred of the Religious. One Company passed thro' *Toledo*-Street, and so marched on before *St. Lewis*'s Church, where the most pure Milk of the blessed Virgin is kept: And the other made their Way, thro' other Streets of the City, that were the most populous; 'till they came to the great Market-place. Here they pray'd, and spoke to the People; from whence they went to the Church of the most holy Lady of *Carmine*; and having there offer'd their Devotions in the most solemn Manner, they returned Home; and by this time it was dark Night. The pious Designs, and holy Services of these Religious were gratefully acknowledged by the Viceroy; who thought it became him, to give a full Account of the Procession, to the *Conte d'Ognate*, that was then *Catholick Ambassador* in the Court of *Rome*.

The

\* *A Sect of Priests in great Repute in Pope Clement VII's Time.*

The Viceroy, and the whole Body of the Nobility, were confounded at these Proceedings of the Rabble; and could form no Resolution, how it was possible to reduce them to Temper. Their Numbers continually increased: And to prevent any Design they might have, of entring the Church of *St. Laurence*, and seizing upon many valuable Things that were there lodg'd, and belonged to the Citizens; and especially lest they should carry off 18 Pieces of Ordnance, and a Provision of small Arms, that were kept in the Tower of the Church, they set a Guard upon the Church, and Cloyster belonging to it; consisting of *Spaniards*, and others that were the best Soldiers they had. For his Excellency judged rightly, *that if the Rabble got Possession of the Steeple, they had the Command of the great Bell*, that was always rung in Cases of sudden Distress: And the People knew by that Sign, that they must betake themselves to Arms, for the City was in the utmost Distress.

His Excellency thinking himself no longer safe in the Castle of *St. El-*

*mo,*

mo, removed about 2 o'Clock in the Morning to *Castelnuovo*, which joyns to the Royal Palace by a Bridge that paffes between them. The moſt E-minent Cardinal *Trivultio*, with many Officers and stout Cavaliers went with him ; and for his Security, he had a good Body of *Spaniſh* Soldiers for a Guard. It was thought by wiſe Men, that the Viceroy might have easily ſuppreſſ'd the Tumults, had he crush'd them in the Beginning, before they were ſo impetuous ; and even now, had he exerted his Authority, and put himſelf at the Head of the King's Troops, the Rioters after the firſt Onſet, would have ſurrend'red, and laid down their Arms. But, inſtead of proceeding by theſe Meaſures, which he thought violent, he took a milder Course, and thought to win upon them, by Acts of Kindneſs and Po-pularity : And therefore, inſtead of falling upon them in an hoſtile Way, he contrived to supply the Populace with Bread, which now began to be ſcarce and dear ; and iſſued out Or-ders to be publiſh'd that Night, *that on the Morrow-Morning, a Loaf of Bread*

60 RISE and FALL of  
*Bread should weigh 33 Ounces and  
4 Grains*; whereas before, it scarce  
weigh'd 22 Ounces; and that the  
Tax upon Fruit should be utterly  
abolished, and never be exacted any  
more. For his better Defence, he  
doubled the Guard upon the Castle.

Nor did the Fury of the People  
abate in the least. They were satisfied  
with nothing but Fire and Desola-  
tion. And for that Purpose, they  
caused the great Bell of our Lady  
of *Carmine* to be rung out thrice  
that very Night, to incite the People  
to Arms. They obeyed the Summons:  
For they flocked together in Multi-  
tudes from all Parts; and dividing  
themselves into Companies, they march'd  
into several Quarters of the City. Some  
went out, with a Design to set Fire  
to all the Toll-Houses in *Naples*,  
where the Gabels were exacted; and  
for the greater Terror, they had Torches  
in their Hands, and Drums beating  
before them: Others staid behind, to  
provide Arms and Ammunition for the  
Service of the following Day; and  
for that Purpose, they plundered all  
the Shops of the Gun-Smiths, Sword-

Cut-

Cutlers, and other Tradesmen; and got together a great Quantity of Swords, Musquets, Bullets, Gun-powder and Match: Others broke into the Hous-es of the Merchants; and the Arms they kept for their own Security against Thieves, were taken away by Violence, *for the Use of the most faithful People of Naples.* And because one of the Shop-keepers attempted to make Resistance, and refused foolishly to gratifp the Rabble; not only threatening *to complain to the Viceroy,* but rashly discharging a Mortar-piece out of the Window, whereby one of them was kill'd; the People were so incensed, that they immediately clapp'd Fire to his House, wherein were many Barrels of Guu-powder, and all flew up into the Air; which made a dreadful Shock, and struck a Terror thro' the whole City. 87 Persons were blown up and perished; and 44 were miserably wounded, and scarce escaped with their Lives. The Viceroy was alarm'd at these Proceedings: And to prevent such Barbarities for the future, he gave positive Orders, *that all the Powder that was lodged in the City should*

*should be thoroughly wetted.* The People on the other Hand, behaved with an imperious Authority along the Streets; and began to range themselves under some Order and Discipline: They resolved to have a regular Army ready for their Defence, and with great Application, provided for the Busines of the next Day.

July 8.

The Preparations made by the Rabble the Night before, were Fore-runners of great Mischief and Confusion on the Morrow. Their Vigilance and Industry were equal to their Fury and Resentments: They were sufficiently guarded against any Surprize, by keeping together in great Bodies all the Night, and setting Watches in the suspected Places of the City. Before it was clear Day, *Masaniello* appeared in the great Market-place; and taking an Account of the Arms and Ammunition that was got together, and computing how many regular Troops could be supplied with them, he divided the Rabble into Regiments and Companies, and distributed the Arms among them. The Flower of the *Napolitan* Youth listed voluntarily into the

the Service, and were eager to be led on to Action. And to say the Truth, *Masaniello* with wonderful Dexterity and popular Oratory, had form'd them so exactly to his Purpose, that by a Motion of his Hand, they would have cut the Throats of all the Nobility, and set every House in the City on Fire. Nothing was to be heard in the Streets, but the Noise of Drums and Trumpets, and the clashing of Armour: The Colours were displayed, and now it no longer appeared to be a Rabble Rout, but a formidable and well ordered Army, absolutely at the Command of their General, and compleatly furnish'd with brutish Zeal and Barbarity, and all the Principles and Instruments of Death and Cruelty. The Soldiers march'd with their drawn Swords, their Musquets and Arquebuses cock'd, arm'd likewise with Lances and Targets. And what was more surprizing, and improved the Terror and Astonishment of the Government, the Country People thronged into the Town in great Multitudes, breathing nothing but Fire and Destruction: They came down from all the Villages about

## 64 RISE and FALL of

about Naples, armed with Ploughshares, Pitchforks, Spades, Pikes and other Implements; and forming themselves into some Order, they mixed themselves with the Rabble, and were principally concerned in the Calamities that followed. Nor were the Women, in this general Confusion, wanting in their Zeal: For they assembled in great Numbers; furnish'd with Fire-shovels, Iron Tongs, Spits and other Family-Instruments; protesting, *that they would lose their Blood in the common Cause, and would never submit, 'till their Liberties were secured*: They vow'd *they would burn the City, and themselves and Children along with it, before they would be Beasts of Burden any longer, and bring up their Children to be Slaves and Pack-Horses to a proud and haughty Nobility*. The very Children too were seen with Canes and Sticks in their Hands, threatening the Nobility, and urging their Fathers to Battle. The common Cry was, *Long live the King of Spain; but no more Gabels; let the Taxes perish, and be sent to Hell*,

*Hell, to support the dark Kingdom  
of the Devil; and cursed be the  
Raisers of them; those Bloodsuckers,  
those Wolves, who have devoured  
the Flesh of the innocent Lambs:  
Let them dye, and be torn Limb  
from Limb: Let us make them  
vomit and disgorge the Blood they  
have sucked: Let us squeeze the  
Hell-Hounds to the last Drop; those  
insatiable Leeches, who have drained  
the faithful People of Naples, that  
they are ready to faint: Let these  
Wasps that buzz about us and sting  
us to Death, be blown up with Gun-  
powder; they, who have lived upon  
the Honey of the Bees, and like  
Drones have plundered the Hive.*

These, and such like, were the Outcries that were in the Mouth of the Populace, and rung horribly thro' all the Streets of Naples. No Man was safe, either in his Life or Property. The Nobility and Gentry were in the utmost Consternation. Some of them retired to the Country, left their Wives and Daughters should be ravished; and conveyed away their most valuable Effects, lest they should be

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## 66 RISE and FALL of

plundered. A general Fear and Amazement seized the most sober Part of the Citizens ; who, sensible of the Fury of an enraged Populace, shut up their Shops, and were forced to applaud the Proceedings of the Multitude, to secure their Goods and Houses from Fire. All Busines and publick Offices were at a Stand. The Arts and Sciences languished : Books were neglected : Studies abandoned : The Bar was solitary : The Ecclesiasticks sung *Lachrymæ* : The Law ceased : Patronages were despised : Advocates were dumb : The Judges were fled, and the Courts of Justice were shut up. The Arsenals only were open : Magazines and Store-Houses were searched and rifled by the Rabble ; and the whole City was inflamed with martial Fury. Nothing was to be heard in the Streets but the rattling of Armour, and the scouring and furnishing of old Musquets, Pikes and rusty Swords ; every one encouraging his Fellow to *stand to it lustily*, and threatening the Execution of *Fire and Sword against all Opposers*.

But the principal Rendezvous of the People was about the great Market-

ket-place, *Lavinaro*, and *Porta Nolana*. Here they drew up in military Order, and formed themselves into distinct Bodies, with proper Officers at the Head of them: And (which was a terrible Sight) there were Persons disposed between the Ranks, with lighted Match and flaming Torches. *Masaniello* was *Generalissimo*; and he applied himself with singular Art, to provide against Extremities; to inspire the People with Courage, and infuse Terror among his Enemies. He sent positive Orders to the 36 Precincts of the City, *To arm instantly for the common Defence, under the severe Penalty of firing their Houses about their Ears*; which was punctually executed: And by this Means, a great Multitude flock'd to him compleatly armed; (which added to his Strength) and joyn'd in the common Rage against the Government. His Care was now to secure Ammunition; and hearing of a Shop-keeper, who had by him a Quantity of Gunpowder, he civilly sent to him *to buy it*; and the Messenger carried ready Money in his Hand: But the

## 68 RISE and FALL of

Man refusing to sell it, without Authority from the Viceroy, *Masaniello* detach'd a Party from the main Body to fire the House. They immediately threw lighted Matches in at the Windows, and the House, with 60 People that were within, flew up into the Air : So many were destroyed, for their Bodies were number'd afterwards; the Mob not suffering them to be buried for a long Time. Dreadful was the Shock : It made a sort of an Earthquake all about it; and the Crack was as loud, as when the great Galion was blown up a few Weeks before, in the Port of *Naples*. But whether it took Fire, by Accident or by Design, is yet unknown. The Loss of this Powder made the Rabble the more furious; and in a great Body, they march'd to the King's Magazine, that was without the City, towards *Cap de Chino*; with a Design to seize it for their own Use, or blow it up. When they came, they forced open the Doors; but to their great Disappointment, it had been all wetted before, and would not take Fire. This was done by Order of the Viceroy,  
by

by Way of Prevention, which raised the Spirits of the People, to the utmost Fury and Distraction.

The Viceroy, in the midst of these Calamities, was not wanting for his own Defence and Security. He provided for the Worst: And therefore, not depending upon the Strength of *Castelnovo*, and a strong Guard of *Spaniards* that he took with him; he found Means to introduce within the Gates, a Reinforcement of 800 *Spaniards* more, 1000 *Germans* and 1000 *Italians*. He set a Guard in the Street of *Francisco Xaverio*, to the Number of 400. He likewise secured *Pizzafalcone*, which lies above the Palace, and all the adjacent Streets with good Fortifications; making Ramparts of Faggots; and digging another deep Trench round about the Old and New Palace; so that it was impossible for the Rabble to make any Attack on that Quarter. His Excellency commanded a great Piece of Ordnance, to be planted at the End of every Street, towards the *Santo Spirito*, the Houses of the Father *Dominicans* and the Father *Minims*:

## 70 RISE and FALL of

Another he placed upon the Ascent of *Santa Lucia*; and two before the great Gate, towards the Middle of the new Palace. These and other Precautions were of great Use, in securing the Streets; and served to repel the Rabble, when their Fury urged them to make an Attempt upon the Castle.

*Masaniello* was no less industrious, in managing the People, and providing against Danger and Extremities. He had his Spies in all Quarters of the City, and the neighbouring Villages; and having Intelligence by his Scouts, that a New Regiment of *Germans*, were coming from *Pozzolo* to *Naples*, by Order of the Viceroy, he detach'd a strong Body, well armed, to oppose their March: They met them upon the Road, and fir'd briskly upon them. The *Germans* were surprised at this Attack, and made a faint Resistance: But some of their Men being killed, and finding they were overpowered by Numbers, they surrendered and laid down their Arms. Every Man of them was bound; and they were led as Prisoners of War into the City. His Excellency had sent for two Companies

nies of *Italians* for the same Purpose : But nothing could stir, without the Knowledge of *MasanIELLO*, who gave Orders to fire upon them, if they made Resistance. They surrendered upon the first Summons, and were bound ; but considering better of the Matter, they offered their Service for the Defence of the City ; and so they were released and armed, and incorporated among the other Troops. The *Germans* had soon their Liberty given them, by Order of the General ; who with an Air of Scorn and Insolence, sent them to the Viceroy, loaded with Bread, fresh and salt Meats, Cheese, Wine, and other Provisions. And they went dancing along the Streets, with Meat in their Hands, and Bottles at their Mouths ; to the great Joy and Diversion of the People.

It happen'd this Morning, that some of the Rabble had attempted to force the *Spanish* Guard ; but were beaten back ; and two ordinary Fellows of their Company were seized and made Prisoners. News of this was soon carried to the main Body ; and a Detachment sent to demand the Prison-

72 RISE and FALL of  
ers, and upon Refusal to fire and  
give no Quarter. The Prisoners were  
not immediately delivered; which so  
inraged the People, that they fired  
desperately upon the Guard, which did  
Execution, and many of them were  
killed: They threatned, *that if their  
Comrades were not instantly produced,  
safe and without Hurt, they wou'd  
hice every Spaniard in Naples to  
Pieces, and there should not be a  
Man of them by Night left alive.*  
To prevent these Barbarities, and fearing  
they would be as good as their  
Word, the Viceroy was obliged to  
comply, and the Prisoners were sent  
out safe and sound.

The People were wonderfully plea-  
sed with the Weight of Bread, which  
rose considerably that Morning. For  
a Loaf of Bread before, was very little  
above 22 Ounces; but it now weighed  
11 Ounces more; in all 33. Upon  
this Occasion, the Women and Chil-  
dren ran out into the Streets, leaping  
and dancing with Loaves in their  
Hands, and crying out, *Long live the  
King of Spain: God save the most  
faithful People of Naples; but the  
cruel*

cruel Government would starve us with Famine; down with it; down with the Taxes; down with the Taxes. It was thought, that this Alteration in the Weight of Bread, might have produced good Effects; but the Martial Fury of the Rabble, was fomented by the Harangues and Violence of their Leaders, who breathed nothing but Fire and Desolaion, and seemed resolved, that the Tumults should not end, but in the Destruction of the City,

The Viceroy, as was said before, had fortified himself in *Castelnovo*; and having with him, some Lords of the Collateral Council, and others of the principal Nobility, and of the Council of State, he advised with them, what was proper to be done, to put a Stop to the Commotions. Many and various were the Debates upon the Subject. Some were for making a Sally out of Castelnovo, with a strong Body of Guards; which possibly would disperse the undisciplined Rabble; or at least, would shew the Resolution of the Government; that they determined to repel Force

*Force by Force.* But his Excellency being tender of the Lives of the People, would not come into these Measures; but tried gentler Methods, by sending a soft and condescending Letter to *Masaniella*; wherein he absolutely granted what was demanded the Day before, *That the Taxes should be taken off, and the People establish'd in their Privileges.* But the haughty General grew imperious upon this Condescension; and rising higher in his Demands, declared, *That he would be satisfied with nothing less, than a Restitution of the Privileges granted by King Ferdinand, and Charles V. of glorious Memory; whose Statue he had over the Door of his House; and that the Viceroy, the Collateral Council, the Council of State and the Nobility, should by a Publick Instrument, oblige themselves, their Successors and Posterity, to maintain inviolably the Old Charter of Privileges, and never to incroach upon the Liberties of it:* He insisted further, *That the Clerk of the Market, should for ever be in the Nomination of the People; That they should chuse a Capo*

Capo Populi, or Head of the People, without any Interposition of the Vice-roy; and he should be a Lord by Title, according to the antient Practice, when the Prince of Salerno enjoyed that Office: And without the Consent of this Popular Tribune, no Taxes or Impositions should be laid: If they were, the People might lawfully refuse to pay, without falling under the Imputation and Penalty of Rebellion. His Excellency and the Council thought these Articles were unconscionable, and injurious to the Authority and Prerogative of the King his Master. Yet he concealed his Resentments, and seeming to deny nothing, he promised by the Consent of the Council of State, That all Taxes should be abolished, and no more imposed without the Approbation of their Tribune; and that all they expected, should be indulged, if they would but lay down their Arms, and quietly enter upon a Treaty of Settlement and Accommodation.

But the Rabble were implacable, and resolved to treat with Sword in Hand: They were afraid of being

de-

deluded and cheated out of their Liberties: This or never, they thought was the Time to insist upon their Privileges; now they had humbled the Pride, as they called it, of the Viceroy and the Ministry, and brought them to sue for Peace. His Excellency observing them so disposed, and fearing they would grow in Love with this loose Way of living, judg'd it expedient to apply himself to the Duke of Mataloni, a Favourite of the People's, who was a Prisoner in Castel novo, where he had been committed, upon Suspicion of having caused the Admiral Ship of Naples to be burnt, which was bound for Spain, and laden with Money for the Use of his Catholick Majesty. Him the Viceroy sent for, and told him with a smiling Aspect, that he was convinced of his Innocence, and therefore gave him his Liberty, which he doubted not, but he would employ for the Service of his King, and the Good of his Country; at the same Time desiring, that he would ride on Horseback through the principal Streets of the City, and use his good Offices towards

*wards satisfying the Importunities of the People.* This Nobleman had a Brother, *Don Joseph Caraffa*, who had a Country Seat near *Benevento*, and was well beloved by the Populace; whom the Duke sent for, to accompany him upon this Occasion. He came, and so both of them, with many others of the Nobility, rode in among the Rabble; intreating them, *to lay down their Arms*, and promising them in the Name of the Viceroy, *that all Gabels should be abolished by Publick Authority.* *Masanuello*, who was at the Head of the Rabble, with his Sword drawn, and well mounted and armed, boldly insisted upon seeing their Credentials to treat. The Nobility were astonished at the Insolence of this Fellow; but stifling their Indignation, *they desired, he would condescend to hear their Proposals, and then judge of them as he, in his great Wisdom, should think fit; and if they should be so fortunate, as to come to any Terms of Agreement, they ingaged to see the Conditions executed at the Hazard of their own Lives.*

The

The General and his Followers were somewhat soften'd by these Condescensions: They said, they desired no more, than that the Privileges granted to the City of Naples, by his Majesty King Ferdinand, should be made good, which were afterwards confirmed by Charles V. of glorious Memory; who, by Oath had promised to this Faithful City, upon his Investiture in the Kingdom by Pope Clement VII. That no new Taxes or Impositions should be laid on the People, or the Kingdom of Naples, by himself, or his Successors, without the Consent of the Apostolick See: If they were imposed with that Authority, they were to be obeyed: Otherwise, the City and the People, had the Liberty to refuse the Payment. They might, if they pleased, rise one and all with Sword in Hand, in Defence of their Charter, without the Imputation of Rebellion or Irreverence to the Prince who governed them. Now, since all Taxes, very few of small Consequence excepted, have been imposed without the Consent of his Holiness, it was but just, that they should be immediately

diately taken off, being in themselves void and of no Effect; and that the People should have the Original of the said Charter, delivered into their Hands, which was preserved in the Archives of St. Laurence's Church. These were their Demands, and they would die rather than recede from them. The Lords promised to use their best Endeavours with the Viceroy; and with great Courtesy, took their Leave of the People. They returned to Castelnovo, and his Excellency instantly called a Council, to advise, what was proper in these Extremities, and what Answer was to be returned to the Rabble, who still grew more violent, and threatened to set Fire to every Quarter of the City.

In the mean Time, the most Reverend the Archbishop, according to his accustomed Vigilance, and paternal Zeal to the Spiritual Peace, and Temporal Happiness of the People under his Charge, finding, that it was in vain to apply to the Rabble, addressed himself with great Devotion to God, and implored his Almighty Aid, for

com.

80 RISE and FALL of  
*composing the Disorders, and setting  
Bounds to the Fury of the Populace.*  
His Duty and Loyalty to the Ca-  
tholick King, as well as the Prin-  
ciples of Religion, urged him upon  
all possible Methods to appease these  
Disorders ; and for that Purpose, he  
summoned all the Religious of the  
City, *to expose the Host in the  
Churches, and to supplicate the Di-  
vine Assistance* ; which was done with  
great Solemnity. The miraculous Blood,  
and the sacred Head of *St. Gennarо*,  
the glorious Protector of *Naples*, were  
likewise exposed ; and all Orders went  
in solemn Procession up and down the  
City, followed by Multitudes of all  
Ranks and Conditions ; who indeed,  
for the present, seemed to shew great  
Respect to the Fathers, and the de-  
votional Part of the Service, but ab-  
ated little of their Violence, when  
the Procession was over, and the Monks  
and Fryars were returned to their  
Cells.

It was said before, that the Ori-  
ginal Charter was preserved in the Ar-  
chives of *St. Laurence*. The Prior  
of *Rocella*, a Reverend and Learned  
Eccle-

Ecclesiastick, was deputed by the People, to search for it. He appear'd among the Rabble on Horseback; and having been with the Viceroy some time before, had prevailed to have a *Proclamation written in Letters of Gold, by which all the Taxes were taken off.* With this Instrument in his Hand, he rode up and down the Streets; publishing, *That his Excellency the Viceroy, had done them the Grace, in the Name of his Catholick Majesty, to put an End to the Gabels.* This News was at first receiv'd by the People with loud Acclamations; and the Prior was surrounded with an infinite Number of Boys, who leap'd and danc'd about him, crying; *Long live the King of Spain, who has abolished the Gabels.* In this Manner, they conducted him to the Market-place, and they almost bore his Horse from the Ground. But their Note was soon changed, for the Prior, conceiving it to be difficult to find the Charter, and astonished withal at the Insolence of the Multitude, conveyed himself unaccountably out of the Crowd, under a Pretence of re-

tiring for necessary Reasons, and be-  
took himself for Sanctuary, to the  
Church of the *Holy Apostles*. The  
People waited some Time for his Re-  
turn; but when they knew he had  
given them the Slip, they threaten'd  
him with *Death*, if ever he fell into  
their *Hands*, and flew out into the  
utmost Rage; for they had great De-  
pendance upon the Wisdom and Inte-  
grity of this Churchman, who was a  
Man of great Humanity and Conde-  
scension, and of powerful Interest with  
the Viceroy: I have heard another  
Account of this Matter, different from  
what I have here related; which is,  
that the Prior went into the Archives  
of St. *Laurence*, and brought out a  
Kind of Instrument in a Sheep's Skin,  
which he declared to be the *Original  
Charter* of Charles V. and this Fraud  
he thought justifiable, having *no other  
Design, than by all possible Devices,  
to put an End to the Commotions*:  
But the Jealous Populace suspected  
some Contrivance; and therefore, they  
deliver'd it to some Gentlemen of the  
Long Robe to be perused. The  
Council were oblig'd to tell the Truth,  
for

for Fear of their Lives; and declaring the Instrument to be a Counterfeit, the Rabble were so incensed, that had not the Prior instantly fled to Refuge, he had been torn to Pieces, and had met with the same Fate that happen'd some Hours before, to the Prince of *Monte Sarchio*, who innocently passing through the Mob, was cruelly used and murdered. This latter, in my Opinion, seems to carry more Weight with it than the former.

By this Time, the Duke of *Mataloni* return'd from the Castle; follow'd by great Multitudes, who were rather Guards than Attendants, and conducted him into the great Market-place. This was the general Rendezvous, where the Heads of the Rabble took up their Quarters; and from hence, they sent Dispatches to all Parts of the City. This Nobleman, it seems, had found in the Castle, an Authentick Copy of the Original Charter; and convincing the Viceroy, *that it would be useful for him to carry it out*, he held it waving in his Hand, and told the People, he had *found the Charter of their Privileges*. The Duke had

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## 84 RISE and FALL of

been inform'd with what had happen'd just before, to the Prior of *Rocella*; and therefore, not daring to say it was the *Original*, he declared from his Knowledge, that it was a faithful and true *Copy*, and that they should soon have the Pleasure of seeing the *Original*; but for the present it was not to be found. *Masaniello* took the Instrument in his Hand, and delivering it to some of the Long Robe for Advice, it was read out aloud, but it gave no Satisfaction: The People crying out, *A Cheat, a Cheat*. The Duke was then in Danger of his Life, and received several Blows upon the Head; but considering, that he had not imposed upon them, but told them the Truth of the Matter, they spared him, and committed him close Prisoner to the Monastery of the *Car-mine*; and appointed a famous Bandit, called *Perrone*, to be his Keeper. This Fellow had been close confined in the same Church, but at the Beginning of the Tumults, was set at Liberty by the People: He had formerly been intimately acquainted with the Duke of *Mataloni*, and pitying

ing his Misfortune, or rather willing to get 10,000 Ducats, he undertook for him. The Rabble were at first inexorable; but at last, he so labour'd the Business, that he obtained his Release, upon Condition, *That he would be ready to produce him upon Demand, and would stake down his own Life for his Appearance.* Thus narrowly, did this Nobleman escape the Fury of the Multitude, and secured not only his Life, but his Liberty. He return'd to his Palace in the City, where he staid about a Day or two, and then made the best of his Way, with his Family and Attendants, to one of his Seats in the Country.

A certain Political Writer, (who *Com. de Mod.* seems to intimate, that the Duke of *Hist. de Nap.* *Mataloni's* Release out of Prison, was *Tom. I. cap. 7.* intirely owing to the Fear the Vice-roy had, that the People, who very much esteem'd this Nobleman, would obtain his Liberty by Force) accounts for the Treatment he received from the Mob, after another Manner. He tells us, "That though the Vice-

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"roy outwardly seem'd to court, and

## 86 RISE and FALL of

“ incourage his Mediation in this  
“ Tumult, he intended to use him  
“ only as a Tool, to create a Misun-  
“ derstanding between the Nobility  
“ and the Commons; being of nothing  
“ so apprehensive, as of an Union  
“ between these two Orders of the  
“ State. That, to this End, whilst  
“ the Duke of *Mataloni* was going to  
“ the Market-place, in order to bring  
“ the Rabble, if possible, to Terms  
“ of Agreement, four Reformadoes,  
“ according to the Instructions they  
“ had receiv'd privately from the Vice-  
“ roy, got thither before him; and ha-  
“ ving obtained Audience of *Masani-  
“ ello*, and the other Ringleaders of  
“ the Sedition, declared to them, that  
“ they were assured from very good  
“ Hands, that the Duke of *Mataloni*'s  
“ pretended Mediation was all a Sham,  
“ and that the Instrument, which he  
“ would shew them presently, was a  
“ Counterfeit, and only an Artifice  
“ and a Blind, concerted between him  
“ and the Viceroy, on purpose to de-  
“ lude the People. *Masaniello*, who  
“ was naturally diffident, conceived in-  
“ stantly a deep Resentment against  
“ the

“ the Duke, and the rather, because  
“ *Julio Genovino*, a crafty old Fox,  
“ and a Promoter of the Tumult, had  
“ often insinuated to him, that he ought  
“ to be cautious how he treated with  
“ the Nobility, who, by their fine  
“ Speeches, and the Affection the Peo-  
“ ple bore them, might gain such an  
“ Ascendant over the Rabble, as to  
“ become their Heads and Leaders,  
“ and by that Means, rob him of the  
“ Honour and Glory which the Cause  
“ he had undertaken, intitled him to,  
“ Therefore, as soon as the Duke of  
“ *Mataloni* appeared in the Market-  
“ place, with the Instrument in his  
“ Hand, *Masaniello* taking it from  
“ him, and looking upon it, cried out,  
“ a Cheat, a Cheat; and at the same  
“ time, calling the Duke a Traytor,  
“ he knock'd him off his Horse; there-  
“ by exposing him to the cruel Out-  
“ rages and Affronts of the Populace,  
“ who, when they were tired with  
“ beating and kicking him, bound  
“ him Hand and Foot, and sent him  
“ to Prison.

The Rabble having twice been deluded, by the Prior of *Rocella* and the Duke his Kinsman, and firmly believing, that, under Colour of being serviceable to their Country and labouring a Peace, the Nobles had no other Design, than that of betraying them to the Ministry, launched out the most horrid Anathemas upon the whole Nobility and talk'd of nothing less than sacrificing them to their resentments. On the other Hand, the Viceroy, fully persuaded, that nothing concurr'd more to break the unlawful Measures of the Rabble, than this Division between the two Parties, rejoiced that his Plot had succeeded so well: But, still fearing that the Nobility, who had a secret Aversion to the *Spanish* Ministry, shoud lay Hold of this Opportunity, to revenge their private Injuries, by siding with the People, 'tis reported, that he caused a Rumour to be spread abroad, *That the Nobility to revenge the Insults and Cruelties, which had been committed upon some of their Order, intended to fall upon the Rabble, with a strong Body, which they*

they were raising for that Purpose. *Idem, Ibid.*  
And the better to make his Stratagem take Effect, he order'd 12,000 Fire-Arms to be distributed, underhand among the Rabble, that they might be ready to defend themselves, when they should be attack'd by these secret Enemies of the Government. So prevailing was the Viceroy's Fear, that the Nobility should act in concert with the People, that he carried on several other close Negotiations and Intrigues, in order to raise a Jealousy between them, and make a Reconciliation between these two Orders of the State impracticable.

The bold Fisherman was advanced, as has been said, to be General of the Mob, upon account of his Courage and natural Bravery. But the People, at the same time, appointed an old Priest, before-mentioned, called *Julio Genovino*, to be always near him, as his Privy Councillor. This Ecclesiastick was a grave sober Person, of great Cunning, and of singular Skill and Experience in Affairs of State: He loved to fish in troubled Waters, and had been imprisoned for some time, for attempting to raise Disturbances, and inflame

flame the Commons against the Government. He was made Elect of the People, by the Duke of *Ossuna* (in the Year 1620) that he might the better concur with that Viceroy, in a Conspiracy which had been concerted between them against the Nobility. But upon the Duke of *Ossuna's* Disgrace, he was carried into *Spain*, and from thence to *Otan*, where he remained Prisoner 19 Years. At the Beginning of the Tumults, he found himself confin'd in the Prison of *St. James*, which was forced open by the People, chiefly upon his Account; and by Reason of *his good Will and Intentions to serve them*, the People promoted him to this great Honour, and made him Prime Minister. The next in Power, was the Banditto *Perrone*, a Jayl-bird; and by the Council of these Two, were transacted in a great Measure, all the Murders and Cruelties, the Burnings and Devastations that followed, in every Part of the City.

These Two Counsellors were to attend upon *Masaniello*, as a Curb to his Fury; But instead of restraining him

him in his Rage, they added Fuel to the Fire; and the first Thing they did, after they had enter'd upon their Office, was, *to draw out a List of above 60 Houses, or rather Palaces, that belong'd to the Principal Commissioners of the Taxes, in Order to have them burnt to the Ground.* The Design was approved of by the *Generalissimo*, who gave Orders to some of his Officers, *To make strict Inquiry after all that were any way concerned with the Gabels, who had either advised, or lent Money upon them; and acquir'd Estates by farming them of the Government.* This was called *Blood-sucking, squeezing, and grinding the People; and nothing could attone for the Offence, but burning and destroying their Houses and Furniture, and bringing them upon a Level with the Populace; that such Practices might be prevented for the Time to come, and corrupt Ministers, in After-Ages, might be terrified by the just Examples made of the Present.* And these were no empty Threatenings: For the People were as good as their Words,

Words, and lighted. Faggots were blazing in every Quarter, ready for Execution. A great Shew of Discipline was kept up in these Disorders; and in the Midst of the Confusion, they observed the most exact Rules of Justice and moral Honesty. All was done *for the Publick Good, and the Destruction of Evil Ministers*; and no private Interest was considered: For whoever, in the rifling of a House, attempted to lay Hold upon any Thing, to carry it away for his own Use, hazarded his Life. One poor Fellow was immediately knock'd on the Head, for pilfering a small Towel: Another received 50 severe Lashes upon the Back, for stealing the Crupper of a Saddle: And many, for concealing the most trivial Things, were hang'd up by the Executioner, in the publick Market-place, at the Command of *Mafaniello*; who scarce allow'd the Wretches Time to lift up their Hands to Heaven, and transact their Affairs with their Ghostly Fathers. He was *an Enemy to his Country, and the Liberties of the People*, who expressed the least Tend-

deries and Compassion for these Calamities; and when Houses and Goods were on Fire, to commiserate the Misfortune of the Sufferers, was to be reckoned *Accomplices, and publick Thieves and Robbers*. As an Instance of this, an honest Man, unadvisedly, and by a natural Compassion, lamenting the burning of the House and rich Furniture of the Duke of *Cavano*, by shaking his Head only, and saying, *It was a Thousand Pities*, was attack'd by the Mob, who would have torn him to Pieces, if he had not providentially made his Escape, thro' a small Wicket, which for some Time stopp'd the Pursuit; the People storming and crying out, *Where is the Villain, where is he? If we catch the Dog, we'll teach him Pity, we'll strip the Skin over his Ears, and pound him in a Mortar.*

The first House that felt the Fire, was a noble and magnificent Structure, that belonged to One of the Commissioners of the Taxes, *Hieronimo Fetitias* by Name, who had acquired a great Estate, by farming the

the Gabel upon Corn. His Palace was one of the most regular Buildings in *Naples*, and was situated in the Quarter of *Porto Nuovo*, and lay contiguous to the Houses of the Lord *Mormili*. Hither flocked a Multitude of the Rabble, carrying dry Faggots upon their Shoulders, and lighted Torches in their Hands: They attack'd the Gates, and forcing all Opposition, got into the House: Every Room was search'd and rifled; all the Furniture was thrown out of the Windows into the Street; consisting of Silver Plate, great Quantities of Pewter and Brads, Chairs, Tables, Carpets, Glasses, Tapestries, and Household-Stuff of all Kinds: They forced open the Closets and Chests, and private Drawers where his Money lay: Here they found many Bags of Gold and Silver, Jewels, Chains and Bracelets of great Value. All was thrown out and carried into the publick Market-place in Triumph, and there hurled without Distinction into a huge Fire made for the Purpose, and all consumed to Ashes: The Rabble of Men, Women, and Chil-

Children, dancing about the Pile, with loud Outcries and Acclamations, and saying; *Burn them down to a Cinder: These Goods are got out of our Hearts Blood; and as they burn, so ought the Souls and Bodies of those Blood-suckers who own them, to fry in the Fire of Hell.*

This Tragedy being ended, the Rabble ran with great Fury, to the House of *Felix Basil*, which they resolv'd to rifle from the Top to the Bottom. This Man was originally of a mean Extract and Occupation; being at first, no more than a poor Baker, who used to carry upon his Shoulders, his Bread up and down the Streets of *Naples*: But applying himself with great Dexterity, to publick Busines and dealing in the Funds, he acquir'd immense Riches. He was a great Favourite of the Viceroy's; and had built a fine House near the *Spirito Santo*, where he liv'd in as much Splendor and Magnificence, as any Man in the City. The People assembled about the Gates in great Multitudes, with lighted Torches in their Hands. They soon made an

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96 *Rise and Fall of*

Entrance ; and stripping the Rooms as they went along, they threw out at the Windows and Balconies, all the Furniture, Household-Stuff, Writings and Books, that were of great Value: There were 23 Trunks hurl'd out into the Street ; and some of them being forced open, by the Violence of the Fall, there were discovered Things of the richest and most costly Workmanship ; such as Cloth of Gold, and Tissues, the finest Embroideries, and noble Tapestries, which perfectly astonish'd the Eyes of the Beholders, who yet were so far from preserving these valuable Effects, that they took them, with a Cabinet full of Pearls, and other precious Stones, and threw them into a Pile of Fire made before the Gate, without saving so much as a Rag upon Pain of Death ; the Rabble all the While dancing about the Flames, with the loudest Outcries and Acclamations.

These dreadful Conflagrations continued for the Space of five Hours without Intermission. And when there was no more Fuel for the Fire, the Mob drove furiously, towards the House of

of Antonio de Angelis, a Counsellor of State, who had been Elect of the People, in the Time of Monterry. This Man, to his Misfortune, concurr'd with the Viceroy in the Imposition of many New Taxes, and was violent in the Execution of the Laws, against such as were remiss to pay. He had frequently been admonished by his Friends, to secure his Goods, and use all possible Precautions to defend his Palace from firing: But he was indolent upon the Occasion, and neglected the Advice: For it seems, the Day before, the Rabble contented themselves, with forcing and carrying away one of his Gates; and he thought their Resentments would end here, and they would attempt no further Violence against him: Besides, his exceeding Gravity, and the Veneration, he supposed was due to a Gentleman of the Long Robe, he thought would be a Protection against future Ravages: But he mistook miserably in his Notions; and his unfortunate Destiny cast a Mist before his Eyes: For the Rabble, with their usual Fury, assembled be-

fore his House ; furnish'd with flaming Torches and blazing Faggots, and soon forced their Way through the Doors. This Palace, was finely furnish'd ; and the Pictures, Jewels and Household-Goods were of inestimable Value ; which instead of drawing their Compassion, served only to incense their Rage. *These Things*, they cried, *were the Blood of the Poor People of Naples* : And all without Distinction, was immediately destin'd to the Fire. Every Corner of the House soon blazed : Nothing was left un-consumed. And what was the more to be lamented, the Pleas, the Chatters, the Writings and Processes of many poor and wealthy Persons, that were committed to his Care, being a Pleader at the Bar, were reduced to Ashes. A Library, consisting of a choice Collection of curious Books, were destroy'd ; and a fine Cabinet with many Thousand Crowns, was thrown into the Flames. Two rich Coaches, four beautiful Horses, and two Mules were unmercifully burnt : And to inrage the Fire, the People threw Bottles of Oil, and other combustible

bustible Materials into it, which made them Sport and Diversion; and they danced about these dreadful Ruins, as if they had been celebrating a Festival. In the Pantry, the Larder-House and Kitchen, they found the choicest Provision, and many large Jarrs of Pickles, and Chests of Sweet-meats, which were all consumed; no one offering to save the least Morsel for his own Use, or to have a Taste of any of these Delicacies. We have already taken Notice, how great a Shew of Discipline, and private Disinterestedness, was kept up by the Mob, in these terrible Desolations, as if they abhor'd the Thoughts of Spoil and Plunder: As another Instance of which, a Boy having taken a Piece of Bacon, as if he designed to convey it away, had like to have been torn to Pieces, and with much ado escaped with his Life. In this Hawock, there was above 10,000 Crowns of good Silver destroy'd; besides vast Quantities of Plate that was double gilt. The Fire of this House was so great, that tho' it was in the Night-Time, it enlightned the whole Place;

## 100 RISE and FALL of

and every Corner of the Street, was as clear, as if it had been Noon-Day.

The next House, that fell a Sacrifice to the People's Resentments, was the Palace of *Antonio Mirabella*, another Pleader at the Bar, and a *Napolitan* Cavalier in the Suburb of *Mayds*: He was surprized in his Bed, and forced to jump out at a Back-Window, in his Shirt; and so escaped with great Difficulty; for a Musquet-Ball miss'd him narrowly as he fled. However, his House and all his rich Furniture was consum'd: All was devoted to the voracious Flames: The very Walls were pulled down, and scarce a Stone left standing upon another. This Fire continued above three Hours.

The Destruction that follow'd, was a magnificent House of *Andrea Anaclerio*, Elect of the People. He was before assaulted by the Boys, and pelted with Stones. But wisely foreseeing the Danger, that was like to ensue, he had remov'd his rich Furniture, and all his Goods of Value; so that the Mob, breaking violently into

into his House, found it stripp'd; and enraged with the Disappointment, they instantly clapp'd Fire to the four Corners, which raged horribly for four Hours: The Terror and Rage of the Flames, perfectly astonished the Beholders: But the Fury of the Prime Incendiaries, abated nothing; and the Building was levelled with the very Ground.

While the People were busy in these dreadful Executions, and burning the *Possessions* (as they called them) of the *Publick Thieves*; the Viceroy was exceedingly troubled at these Combustions, and passionately desired, *by all possible Arts to appease their Fury*: For the whole City looked like a continued Tract of Flames; and nothing less was to be expected than utter Ruin and Devastation. Methods of Accommodation were consulted, and the Collateral Council, and the Councils of State and of War advised seriously, upon these sad Calamities: Upon the Whole, after many Debates, it was resolved as the best Expedient, *That his Excellency should command*

Four Regiments of Foot, to reinforce that Body that was already placed in Defence of the Castle : And this Order was immediately executed. The next Resolution was, *That a Legal Instrument should be printed, and affix'd in the publick Places of the City; which should absolutely abolish all Gabels and Impositions, and a General Pardon secured to the Offenders.* As soon as this Instrument was publish'd, it was sent into the great Market-place, *that the Populace might see and read it, and so disperse and return to their Obedience.* But these Expedients had no manner of Effect; because the Pardon was not so fully expressed as to satisfy the People, who were afraid of an After-Reckoning, if the Conditions and Articles were not perfectly in Form, or could have been evaded: So that all was undone again, and the Treaty broken off. This Disappointment much affected the Vice-roy, who resolved if possible, to renew the Treaty: But, observing, that the Nobility were become odious to the People; and, had he used

used their Mediation, the Discontents would rather have been fomented, than suppressed; he judged it more useful, to employ two of the principal Favourites of the Populace, in whom he could intirely confide; *Andrea Martellone*, and *Onosico Palma*. These Gentlemen were sent for; and his Excellency advising with them, upon the Posture of Affairs, recommended the whole Management, to their *Prudence and Care*; and having promised them *great Rewards upon their Success*, he commission'd them with *full Power to Treat*. For this Purpose, they applied to the Chief Leaders of the Tumult; and with all the Arts of Address and Popularity, recommended to them, *the Study of Peace and Loyalty*, and promised them, *a full Indemnity for all that was passed*: But these popular Orators made no Impression upon the furious Mob: They returned therefore to the Viceroy; and told him flatly, *That it was impossible to allay, or put an End to the Disorders, without delivering into the Hands of the People, the*

Original Charter of Charles V. which contained a Confirmation of their Privileges. His Excellency, who from the Beginning, had omitted no Opportunity of healing the Breaches, resolved to gratify them in their Demands, especially in this Point; and immediately used his utmost Diligence, to search into the publick Records, and discover where this Charter of Privileges was to be found. To this End, he dispatch'd some of the Nobility, and the Elect of the City, attended by *Don Joseph Maria Caraciolo*, a *Theatin*, a Person of great Courage and Learning, and respected for his singular Piety and austere Life; who was active upon all Occasions, to suppress these Seditions, and much devoted to the Service and Interest of his King and Country.

While the Ministers of the Government, were thus sollicitous for the publick Peace, *Masanutto*, as the General of the Mob, was issuing out his Commissions to support the Defection. He sent out his Orders, in the Name of the People of Naples, *That all the Merchants, and the several Companies*

panies of the City, should be ready with compleat Arms, at an Hour's Notice, for the Recovery of the Publick Liberty. He had about him a Number of Men, as a Body-Guard, and a Train of well appointed Horse-men follow'd him. With these, and an incredible Number of the Rabble on Foot, he marched thro' the principal Streets; and when he came to the Houses of any suspected Persons, of what Quality soever, he broke in, and searched for Arms and Ammunition, which were deliver'd him with an ill Will, by the Nobility and Officers of the City. By this Method, he furnish'd himself with many Thousand of Harquebuzes, Carbines, Muskets, Pistols, and other Fire-Arms: And among the rest, he found nine Pieces of Artillery, which a Merchant had in his House; and which he receiv'd as a Pledge from the Government, for the Payment of some Thousands of Ducats. He took seven great Cannons out of a Ship, which he disarmed in the *Mole*: For this Purpose, he was furnish'd with a fine new Galley, well provided, and making

up

up to the Vessel, he sent a Summons to the Captain, to deliver her up; and upon Refusal, he threatned to set her on Fire: The Officer, unable to resist, surrendred, and deliver'd him the great Guns, which were placed by *Masaniello*, at the Entrance of the leading Streets of the City. He had his Emissaries in all Quarters, who brought him Intelligence: And being inform'd by them, That *Mazola*, a Genoway Merchant, had good Store of Arms in his House, they forced the Gates, and finding 4000 Musquets, he distributed them among the People, especially among those that dwelt in the Quarters of *Santa Maria in Parete*. After he had rifled the House, he clapp'd lighted Torches to the four Corners, and consumed it down to the Foundation.

The good Archbishop, affected with these sad Calamities, and finding that all Offers of Accommodation were ineffectual, and that the Commotions advanced every Hour with more Fury, he resolved to try once more what Impression the Reverence, and Solemnity of Religion, would make upon

upon the People: And to that End, he ordered a general Procession, in which he would assist himself, accompanied by the *Theatins*, and the Religious of St. *Hierom* of the Congregation of the *Oratorio*. But doubting whether it would be so agreeable to the People, he thought proper to sound their Inclinations, before he executed his Design. He used great Prudence upon this Occasion; for he considered, that when the Religious went in Procession before in a most solemn Manner, the Populace paid no great Regard to the sacred Rites: For tho', the *Design of them was* (as they said) *very commendable, yet, they had at present, other Business upon their Hands of the utmost Concern*: They were reforming the Government and abolishing the Taxes; so that they had not Time to follow their *Devotions*: And besides, they observed, *That when the Gabels and Impositions were laid, there were no Processions to be seen then, when they were necessary to deprecate the divine Judgments; and they were resolved, they would have none of those Ceremonies*.

108 RISE and FALL of  
monies now the *Impositions* were go-  
ing to be put down. These Mur-  
murs came to the Archbishop's Ears;  
but nothing discouraged, he sent to  
the *Impositors* of St. *Paul* and of *the  
Apostles*, both which belong'd to *The  
Catholick Church*; and desir'd they would  
apply themselves to the *Populace*,  
and take with them some of the *Sec-  
ular Priests* of the greatest *Birth*  
and *Eminence*. The *Seculars* of the  
greatest Interest and Authority, were  
*Don Carlo de Bologna*, and *Dom  
Diego de Mendoza*, who with the  
*Impositors*, went in their Coaches, with  
great Gravity, to the *Piazza* of the  
great *Market-place*, to observe the  
*Humour* of the *People*; particularly,  
to perswade them, if possible, to ad-  
mit of a *Procession*, and that the  
*Archbishop* had no other *Views*, than  
the *Service* and *Satisfaction* of the  
*City*. Upon applying to the *Mob*,  
these *Venerable Intercessors* were in  
*Danger* of being insulted: But the  
*Heads* of the *Sedition* protected their  
*Persons* from *Violence*; withal telling  
them positively, *That they did not  
dispute the Zeal of the Archbishop*,  
to

to serve and assist them in the Recovery of their Liberties: For his good Wishes, they were obliged to him: But as for a Procession, they apprehended it very improper at that Time; and they advised his Eminence, by all Means to desist; for they could not be answerable for Consequences, if the Priests, or the Religious should receive any Violence, or had their Persons or Characters injur'd: The Multitude was in a Ferment, and the Dignity of the Church might be violated, in such Times of Distraction: The City was full of armed Men, with no other Designs (God knows) but the publick Good; and perhaps Mischief might follow: Therefore they presented their Duty to his Eminence, and pray'd, that instead of a Procession, he would expose in the Church, the Holy Host, and order publick Orisons for forty Hours.

The Fathers and Gentlemen being return'd to the Cardinal Archbishop, gave him an Account of their Disappointment; related to him what they proposed, and what Insolence they received: And therefore, his Eminence

not

not thinking it expedient to put his former Thoughts in Action, against the Will of a tumultuary People; he gave Orders to the said Prepositors, and all the Heads and Rectors of Churches, as well Secular as Regular, *That the blessed Sacrament should be exposed, and Prayers offered up in publick and private, to implore the Mercy of Heaven, and to recommend to the Divine Majesty, the deplorable Condition of the City and Kingdom of Naples.* And this was performed every Day with great Devotion, until the Death of *Mafariello*.

When the Archbishop had dispatch'd those seasonable Orders, it being now Night, his Eminence repair'd to *Castel novo*, to confer with the Viceroy, and to consult, whether any Terms of Accommodation could be proposed, that might avert the Calamities that threaten'd the City, and give some Satisfaction to the enraged Multitude; who had been so used to Fire and Cruelty, that they seemed to delight in such Sights and Executions, and therefore all possible Arts of Conciliation were to be used, to soften the Ferity

Ferity of their Natures, and bring them to Temper and Moderation: For the better effecting of which, this worthy Pariot associated to him, the most Illustrious the Apostolical Nun-  
cio, at that Time residing in the King-  
dom. In the Evening, several Persons of Quality, and Gentlemen of the Long Robe and others, retired also to *Castelnovo*; as well for the Safety of their Persons, as to consult with the Viceroy, what was most proper to be done in the present Extremities.

The Rabble were so inflamed with Riot, and a Thirst of Revenge, that ( notwithstanding the Care and Vigilance of the Archbishop, and other worthy Patriots) as soon as the Day began to dawn, they return'd to their old Busines, of burning and destroy-  
ing the Houses and Furniture of the Farmers, and others concern'd in the Gabels. Nothing could stop or asswage the Fury of the unbridled Multitude; which, like an impetuous Torrent, bore down all Opposition, sure, where-  
ever it directed its rapid Course, to bring Ruin and Desolation along with it.

*July 9.*

I do.

## 112 RISE and FALL of

I do not intend to enter upon a particular Description of all the fiery Executions that happened this Day : Enough has been already said on that Subject, to give the Reader a just Idea of the Rage of an exasperated Populace. However, it may not be amiss to observe, that those Cruelties, (by the People term'd *just Revenges*) were exercis'd upon all them, that had the Misfortune to be prick'd down in *Masaniello's List*. Among These, the Palace of *Valenzano*, a Farmer of the Gabel upon Corn, was the first Victim that fell a Sacrifice to the Resentment of the Rabble ; in the rising of which, were found two Coffers fill'd with Gold, which, by the Command of *Masaniello*, was not consumed with the rest of the preeious Moveables found there, but laid in Bank, to serve as Occasion should require. Another Thing remarkable, is, that in the midst of these Distractions, the Rioters had so great a Regard to Religion, that having found in the young Duke of *Carivano's* Palace, several rich and valuable Pictures, among which were some Pieces of Sacred History ; the Profane they burnt, but

but these they sent to several Churches to be there set up, having first divested them of the costly Frames and Jewels that adorn'd them, which were thrown into the common Heap and burnt to Ashes. *Luprano* indeed, and some other Partisans, thinking to elude the Fury of the Rabble, sent all their Goods and rich Furniture into the Monastery of the Nuns of the *Conception*, and other religious Houses: But *Masaniello* having Notice of it, sent express Orders to the said Monasteries, to deliver up all the said Goods in their Possession, *upon Pain of Firing*. They, not daring to refuse, brought out an incredible Quantity of rich Moveables of all Sorts, which were immediately thrown into a great Fire, and perish'd in the Flames.

In the mean Time, and whilst the People were glutting their Rage with Destruction, the Two Original Charters of Privileges, granted by *Charles V.* and King *Ferdinand*, were found, and brought to the Viceroy, by the chief Elect of the Nobles, and *Don* *Giuseppe Caracciolo*, a *Theatin*, who had spared no Pains in the Search of

I them.

them. This was a fair Opportunity to put an End to the Commotions. But the Viceroy was dilatory, and irresolute in the Business; and contented himself, with fending the Archbishop to assure the People; *that he would shortly relieve them as they desired.* The People finding, that the Treaty of Accommodation went on but slowly, and raised by these Delays, to a Mistrust of the Viceroy's Intentions, resolv'd to make themselves Masters of the Convent and Tower of St. *Laurence*; not only because they feared its Situation, from whence their Quarters in the Market-place, might be molested by Cannon-shot; but because it was the Arsenal of the City; and by securing themselves of this Place, they might be provided with Arms and Ammunition. They had made an Attempt upon it the *Sunday* before; but being then only few in Number, and meeting with a vigorous Repulse from some Banditti, who were in the Belfrey, they were forced to withdraw; But now the Case was alter'd; for a Body of about 10,000 Men in Arms, having surrounded

founded the Monastery, drew up in Battalia, and made themselves ready for an Assault, by placing two large Pieces of Ordnance, which they had brought with them, opposite to the Tower, in order to batter it down.

These Preparations for a Siege, filled the Friars with Fear and Amazement: They no sooner heard a Discharge of Small Arms, and perceiv'd lighted Faggots ready for Execution, but they forsook the Convent and took to their Heels; leaving only behind them, some Novices, a few Gentlemen, and 60 *Spaniards* sent thither the Evening before by the Viceroy, who surrendred, upon Condition of having their Lives and Cloathing granted them. The People were overjoy'd at this Success. They rush into the Convent, and having secured all the Small Arms, and 18 Pieces of Ordnance, that were there laid up for the Service of the City; the former were distributed among the Rabble, and the latter planted in different Quarters and Streets, and a sufficient Number of Men appointed to attend and guard them.

## 116 RISE and FALL of

All this was done by *Masaniello's* Direction; who at the same Time, commanded the *Alarm-Bell* to ring, as well to publish the Victory he had obtain'd, as to make the Citizens rise in Arms, and multiply his Numbers; solemnly protesting, *That his Design was not to incite the People to Rebellion, but only, to make them ready to stand in Defence of their Rights and Liberties.* And to make his Intentions yet more plain, he order'd the Standard of *Spain*, together with the Ensigns of the City, to be set up on the Top of the Steeple.

About this Time, *Masaniello* having Notice given him by his Scouts, that some *Spanish* Forces, that were quartered in the neighbouring Villages, were making towards *Naples*; he detach'd a Party to meet them; who, after having disarm'd them, sent them back to their former Stations; whilst he himself marched, at the Head of a considerable Body, to stop the Progress of 600 *Germans*, that were sent from *Capua*, by the Governor of that City, to succour the Vice-  
roy. But upon the Approach of *Ma-*  
*sa-*

*saniello*, they laid down their Arms, without offering to make the least Resistance ; and surrendering themselves, they were led into the City, where the Fisherman treated them so well, that they went up and down the Streets, crying *Long live the most faithful People of Naples.*

The People in the mean Time, were making diligent Search in the Archives of St. *Laurence*, for the Original Charters of *Charles V.* and King *Ferdinand*. But it being impossible for them to find 'em there, they grew more furious than ever ; committing many Outrages, and firing all the Goods and Furniture of Value they could meet with in the Convent ; which the Viceroy being inform'd of, and finding he could no Way appease them, without producing the said Originals, he sent for the Archbishop, and delivering them into his Hands, with a Ratification of the Privileges therein contained, desired him to go to the Market-place, and shew them to the People.

The good Archbishop, having the Original Charters in his Possession,

made no Question but he should soon quiet the Rabble, and put an End to the Commotions. Pleased with this Thought, he lost no Time, but went directly to the Market-place, where he was received with a great deal of Respect and Honour by the Mob, who always had a great Veneration for this Reverend Prelate. From thence he went to the Church of our Lady of *Carmine*, followed by vast Numbers of People: And holding out the Charters in his Hand, he told them, *He hoped they would now be satisfied; for he had brought them the Original Charters, which they so much insisted upon, with a Confirmation of all their Privileges under his Excellency's Hand and Seal:* And they being, at his Eminence's Desire, read aloud, the soundest Part of the People were transported with Joy, at the Prospect of so many Benefits they were going to enjoy, and already began to return Thanks to Divine Providence, for bringing the Distractions to so happy an Issue. But the Majority of the Rabble, still suspecting the Charters to be spurious, and that

the

the Archbishop imposed upon them, as the Duke of *Mataloni* and the Prior of *Rocella* had done before, began to murmur ; some of them having the Insolence to ask his Eminence, *If he came also to deceive them ?* To this, the Archbishop, who was desirous at any Rate, to procure Peace to his desolate Country, answered in the most gentle Terms, and endeavour'd by all the Arts of Eloquence and Persuasion, to dissipate their Doubts and convince them of their Error : He assured them, that the Charters were genuine ; and protested, *That he was so far from imposing upon them, that he should think himself happy, if, with the Loss of his own Life, he could appease the Tumult, and compleat all their Wishes.* At the same Time, addressing himself to *Masaniello*, *My dear Son*, says he, *I do assure you, that these Charters are the very same that the Emperor Charles V. and King Ferdinand sign'd and seal'd with their own Hands : I do not however desire you to rely upon my bare Word, but rather advise you, to put them into the Hands*

of some skilful Person, to peruse them, whilst I stay here; and let him make his Report to the People. My Lord, replied Masaniello, I cannot call in Question your Eminence's Honour and Goodness, which have been so conspicuous upon all Occasions: I'll be bound for your Eminence; for I am fully persuaded, that like a tender Shepherd, you have no other End in the Trouble you take upon you, than the Welfare and Tranquility of your Flock: But for the further Satisfaction of the People, I'll do as your Eminence advises. And accordingly, having sent for Julio Genovino, the Charters were deliver'd to him in order to be examin'd, who, after some Time spent thereon, declared them to be the true Originals desir'd. But some of the Rabble understanding, that the Instrument, by which the Viceroy confirm'd the Charters of Privileges, was not so full as they expected, and fearing they might still be brought to an After-Reckoning, they cried out one and all, That it was no Matter, whether the Charters

ters were Original or not, so long as the Viceroy's Ratification of them was lame and imperfect; and insisted, *That Articles of Capitulation should be drawn up by some of their Body, and that they should be sign'd by the Viceroy, and the several Councils and Tribunals of the Kingdom.* The Cardinal Archbishop was astonish'd at this Demand; but however, told them, *He would send Word to the Viceroy, to know his Pleasure therein:* Accordingly, his Eminence dispatch'd one of the Gentlemen of his Chamber, to the Castle, to inform his Excellency with the People's Pretensions. The Viceroy, wisely considering, that it was in vain to contend with Force; and desirous to see the Troubles at an End, resolv'd to put as good Face upon it as he could; and therefore returned an Answer in Writing, to the Archbishop's Message, signifying his Agreement to the Proposal; and withal desiring his Eminence, *to let the most faithful People know, that whatever Articles they should draw up, should not only be signed as they desir'd, but that he would*

122 RISE and FALL of  
would get them ratified as soon as  
possible by the King of Spain.

The Archbishop having communicated the Viceroy's Answer to the People, it was some Time before they could determine, who to fix upon, to draw up the Articles of Capitulation; After much Cavil and Dispute, it was at length resolved, that *Genovino* should be the Man; and that the Articles should be read publickly the next Morning in the great Market-place, before they were laid before the Viceroy. 'Tis said, that one of the Articles proposed by the Rabble, was, That the Castle of St. *Elmo* should be deliver'd into the People's Hands; and that *Masaniello* seemed to approve the Motion, when *Genovino* (who had been won by the secret Promises of the Viceroy) stood up and declared, *That, altho' the People might legally take up Arms to maintain and defend their Rights and Privileges, pursuant to the Determination of Pisanello, and several other the most learned Doctors of Laws, in the Year 1547; yet, could they not insist upon the Castle of*

of St. Elmo's being put into their Hands, without incurring the Imputation of Rebellion. At the Word Rebellion, *Masaniello*, who had always protested, *That his only Design was, to shake off the cruel Yoke of Gabels, and not his Allegiance to the King of Spain, desir'd, that no more might be said about it, and that he had rather die, than give his Consent to a Demand, that should make him pass for a Rebel.*

This was no small Proof of *Genovino's* Influence upon the People; to oblige them to recede from an Article so prejudicial to the Interests of *Spain*, and so advantagious to the *Neapolitans*. But he gave a further Testimony of his Credit, in causing *Ciccio Arpaja* his antient and intimate Friend, who had been formerly condemn'd to the Galleys, for being concern'd with him in the Conspiracy against the Nobility, in the Duke of *Ossuna's* Time, to be made Elect of the People. This Election was proposed by *Masaniello*, and approved of by the Rabble, who, seeing with what Zeal this Retailer of Fish acted

for

for the publick Good, unanimously voted *Arpaja* into that eminent Station.

The Archbishop, who had been ever since the Morning in the Church of *Carmine*, finding, that every Thing concurr'd to a final Accommodation, retired very late to his Palace; having first obtain'd a Promise of *Masanietto*, *Not to execute his Design, of firing that Night, 36 Houses of Persons of Quality*; among which were the Palaces of the Duke of *Mataloni*; the Prior of *Rocella* his Kinsman; *Don Ferrant Carraciolo*; *Don Carlos Spinello*; *Carlos Brancaccio*; *Cornelius Spinola*; the Visitor-General; and the Prince of *Cellamare*, Chief Post-Master of the Kingdom. And in this, the good Archbishop gave an illustrious Example of Christian Charity and Forgiveness: For the foremention'd Persons, had all of them been principally concern'd, in the Tumult that happened the Year before, at the Procession of the Reliques of St. *Gennarro* the Patron of *Naples*, in which his Eminence received

ceived many gross Affronts and Abuses.

Next Morning early, *Masaniello July 10.* made a general Review of the People throughout the City of *Naples*; wherein were found 114,000 Men under Arms, besides a great Number of Citizens who were not inroll'd. In the mean Time, his Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop *Filomarino* waited upon the Viceroy; and in a long and private Conference, gave him an Account of his Negotiation the preceding Day. From thence he went to the great Market-place, to be present at the reading of the Treaty of Accommodation, before the Assembly of the People.

There was now great Hopes of seeing the Distractions at an End. The Rabble, satisfied with the Vengeance they had taken, and dazzled by the Prospect of so many Immunities and Privileges they were on the Point of enjoying, abated of their former Fury, and even sigh'd after Peace. But a fatal and unexpected Accident entirely ruin'd these good Dispositions, and

and blew up the Flames of Discord, to a greater Height than ever.

Just at the very Time, when the Market-place, as well as the Church and Convent of *Carmine*, were crowded with an infinite Multitude of People, who all waited with Impatience, to learn the Success of the Negotiation; about 500 Banditti, well arm'd and mounted, came into the Market-place, where they were received with great Demonstrations of Joy, upon their giving out, *That they had been sent for by Domenico Perrone, and were come for the Service of the most faithful People.* As soon as *Masaniello* saw them, he thank'd them for their Good-Will; and telling them to alight, appointed them different Quarters of the City, where they should expect his further Orders a-foot: Upon which, *Perrone* told him, he judg'd it much more proper, to assign them a separate Standing to themselves, and by no Means to dismount them; because, being on Horseback, they would be much readier to assist him in Case of Necessity: To this, *Masaniello* replied, *That*

That it was altogether unnecessary, and that they would be as serviceable to him on Foot as on Horseback. But, Perrone warmly insisting upon their going mounted, and in a Body, without being able to give any good Reason for it, *Masaniello* began to suspect, that some dark Business was going forward; and therefore, peremptorily commanded the Banditti *to go a-foot to the Quarters he assign'd them, and not to stir an Inch without his Order.* He had no sooner spoke, but a Musquet was fired off; which, *Masaniello* looking upon as the Signal of some Mischief, cried out, *Treason, Treason, There's a Plot on Foot;* when five Musquets were immediately fir'd upon him, by some of the Banditti, who had slid themselves among the Crowd that surrounded him: And tho' a Bullet or two came so near to him, as to singe his Shirt, yet he received not the least Hurt. The People seeing their General alive and without Harm, cried out one and all, *That God, and the Lady of Carmine had protected Masaniello; and that this miraculous Deliverance of his Person, was*

was a manifest Token that they approved of his Undertaking: And saying so, they fell without Mercy upon the Banditti; and having kill'd 30 of them upon the Spot, they pursued the rest into the Church and Convent of *Carmine*, whither they had taken Shelter. Nor could the Holiness of the Place secure them from the People's Rage; who, in an Instant, turn'd it into a Scene of Blood and Cruelty. Nothing was to be heard on all Sides, but the piercing Cries of the Wounded, who, whilst they were calling for Confessors, met with the Stroke of Death. Two of them were slain at the Foot of the great Altar; and another under the very Seat where the Archbishop was, and whither the Apprehensions of Death had hurried him. In short, the whole Pavement was soon cover'd with slaughter'd Bodies; among which were *Domenico Perrone* and *Gregorio Perrone*, the former having lost his Life, for being an Accomplice in the Conspiracy and the latter, only for being Brother to the former. Capt. *Antino Grosso* lost his Life

Life also, having first declared, *That the Banditti had been sent by the Duke of Mataloni and Don Pepe Caraffa his Brother, to revenge, by the Death of Mafaniello, the Insults he had received from the Rabble: That Domenico Perrone was privy to the Plot: And that several Troops more of Banditti were to come into the City at the Close of Day; who, favoured by the Night, and the Confusion which the Death of Mafaniello (which they looked upon as inevitable) must necessarily create, were to fall unawares upon the People, and cut them into Pieces.*

Some Authors who have written of *Among which is the Ld. Gi- raffy, trans- lated into En- glish 78 Years ago by J. How- el, Esq;* the Revolutions of Naples, have affirmed; *That Perrone, Grosso, and others, deposed before they died,* *"That the Market-place and the Convent of Carmine were under-mined; and that 15,000 Pounds of Gun-powder, had been convey'd under Ground; in order to blow them up, at a certain Hour of the Evening, when they should be most crowded with People; by which, 'twas computed that upwards*

“ of 150,000 Souls must have perished in the Shock: That those whom the Flames should spare, were to be put to the Sword, as well by the Banditti who were already entered the City, as by several Companies more, who were appointed to joyn them in the Evening, by Order of the Duke of *Mataloni* and *Don Pepe Caraffa*, the principal Authors of the Conspiracy.” But whoever examines these Things thoroughly, will find, that they are not only false in Fact, but even absurd and inconsistent with

*Com. de Mod.* *Hist. de Nap.* *Tom. I. Cap. 8.* Reason. For, it is certain, that *Perrone* was so incapable of making these Depositions, that the Rabble, who found him hid in the Convent, (where he had betaken himself as soon as he perceived the Banditti had miscarried in their Attempt) killed him outright, and cut off his Head, without giving him so much as Time to speak one Word: Neither is there any reasonable Man, who can imagine, that in less than 24 Hours, and at a Juncture, when the suspicious Rabble were always upon their

their Guard, the Conspirators could have found Means to dig so many Mines, and stow them with such vast Quantities of Powder. Not but I very well know, that these pretended Depositions, however false and ridiculous, were palm'd upon, and credited by an ignorant Rabble, and even countenanced by *Masaniello*; who, to give the better Colour to an Imposture, that served so well to inflame the People's Resentment and Hatred against the Nobility, contented himself, with inflicting no other Punishment on one or two of the Banditti, than perpetual Banishment; upon Pretence, that they had made the forementioned, and other important Discoveries:

The Rabble had soon put to Death 150 Banditti; and having dragg'd their Carcasses through all the Streets and Kennels of the City, they brought their Heads to *Masaniello*, who commanded them, together with those of *Perrone* and his Brother, to be fix'd upon Poles in the Middle of the great Market-place: And this Order was executed accordingly.

*Giraffy says that all the Aqueducts and Reservoirs in Naples were poisoned, and that several Persons died with drinking the Waters:*  
*But as this Assertion carries the same Objections with it as the former, I shall content myself with having barely mentioned it.*

One would think, the spilling of so much Blood, would attone for the greatest Inhumanity, and that the People, after having sacrific'd so many Lives to their just Resentments, would have stopp'd here and gone no further. But *Masaniello*, esteeming his Work but half compleated, so long as he had not in his Power, the Duke of *Mataloni* and *Don Pepe Caraffa*, used his utmost Endeavours to find out the Place that contained them; fully determined, to glut his Vengeance with the Death of two Brothers, who had conspired against his Life. To this End, he ordered several Companies of Horse and Foot, to go in Search of the rest of the Conspirators, who had fled to several Churches and Monasteries for the Benefit of Refuge; but more especially, in *Santa Maria de la nova*, where he was informed, that *Don Pepe Caraffa*, and the Prior of *Roccella* had also betaken themselves, to avoid, if possible, the Fury of an incensed Populace.

Just as the Companies were disposing themselves to march, or rather to fly, where

where their General's Commands, and their own Animosities led them ; Advice was brought to *Masaniello*, that the Duke of *Mataloni* was at St. *Efrem*, which is a Church belonging to the *Capuchin* Friars. The Generalissimo was overjoy'd at this News ; and resolving, not to lose for Want of Strength, this Opportunity of getting into his Power, an Enemy to whom he bore a most inveterate Hatred, he added a fresh Detachment to the former, which together made up a Body of 4,000 Men all armed ; and dispatched them to St. *Efrem*, with positive Orders, *to bring the Duke to him alive or dead*. But the Duke, more fortunate, having timely Notice of their March by a Spy, made his Escape in a Friar's Weeds, and got safe out of the City, where he took Horse, and made the best of his Way to *Benevento*.

The Mob being come to St. *Efrem*, and seeing themselves disappointed, sent several Ways after him, in Hopes to overtake him : But their Pursuit was in vain ; for being well mounted, he had made such Speed, that

K 3 they

they could get no Tydings of him. In the mean Time, they steer their Course towards the Monastery of *Santa Maria*, where *Don Pepe Caraffa* and the Prior of *Rocella* had retir'd; who, next to the Duke of *Mataloni*, were the principal Objects of the People's Rage and Indignation. As the blood-thirsty Rabble went in Pursuit of these, they met some of the Duke's Pages and other Domesticks, whose ill-star'd Fate had brought in their Way, and whom, without having any Regard to their Innocence or their Prayers, they murder'd every one upon the Spot. This Tragedy being ended, with redoubled Speed, they continue their March to *Santa Maria*, where the Prior of *Rocella*, who foresaw the approaching Danger, was exhorting his Brother *Don Pepe* to forsake the Convent, and fly with him to some Place of greater Safety: But he, over-ruled by his hard Destiny, and thinking himself as safe there as in any other Place, refused to go: Wherefore, the Prior seeing he was resolved, told him, he wish'd him a happy Deliverance; and after a short

a short Embrace, with Tears in his Eyes, he took his Leave. Scarce was the Prior gone, when the furious Rabble surprized the Place; and bursting open the Gates, rushed into the Monastery, stripping and examining every Room and Corner of it one after another. *Don Pepe* being now, tho' too late, sensible of the Danger that threatened him, betook himself to the most retired Part of the Monastery, from whence he wrote a Letter to the Viceroy, acquainting him "with the Straights he was put to, and desiring his Excellency, to command a Cannon or two to be fired without Shot upon the Mob, only to scare them and make them disperse, whilst he should attempt an Escape." This Letter he delivered into the Hands of a Secular Priest, a Confident of his, promising him *a great Reward, if he could but convey it to the Castle.* But, as ill-Luck would have it, the Priest was stopp'd as he was going out, and strictly searched by the Rabble, who, finding the Letter in one of his Shoes, dispatch'd him upon the

Spot and went in quest of *Caraffa*, who, they were now more certainly assured, was within. This unfortunate Man, seeing himself close pursued, and knowing, that the greatest Favour he could expect from the unmerciful Populace, was present Death, resolved to make another Push for his Life: And accordingly, having first changed his Habit, he threw himself out of a Back-Window, from whence he stole into a House hard by the Convent, and hid himself under a Bed. But his Reprieve was but very short; for whether he was seen to go in, or whether (as some say and is most probable) a Woman that dwelt there, discovered him to the People in Hopes of a Recompence, he was soon found out by the Mob; and dragg'd into the Street; where, after he was cover'd over with Wounds, one *Michel de Sanctis*, a Butcher's Son, cut off his Head with a Chopping-Knife.

The Joy of the Rabble was as great upon this Occasion, as if they had obtained some signal Victory. They fixed the Head of *Caraffa* upon

on a Pike, and bore it in Triumph to the Market-place, (the Body being dragg'd thro' the Kennels after it) crying as they went along, *Thus may all those perish, that are Traitors to the most faithful People.* The Head was presented to *Masaniello*, who, taking it into one Hand and striking it several Times with a Cane which he held in the other, made a Speech to it, wherein he upbraided *Caraffa* with the *Pride and Cruelty which he had shewn upon several Occasions*, as if he had been still living. This ill-tim'd Reproof being ended, *Masaniello* order'd the Heads of all the Banditti, that were taken in *Santa Maria de la Nova*, and other Monasteries, to be fixed upon Poles in the Market-place, with those that were expos'd there already: But the Head of *Caraffa*, he commanded to be put in an Iron Grate; and, together with the Foot that had kick'd the Archbishop in the Procession already mentioned, to be nailed to a Post erected for that Purpose, without the Gate of St. *Gennaro*, facing the

138 RISE and FALL of  
the Duke of Mataloni's Palace, with  
this Inscription underneath.

DON PEPE CARAFFA,  
REBEL TO HIS COUNTRY  
AND TRAITOR TO THE  
MOST FAITHFUL PEOPLE.

This Tragical Adventure made different Impressions upon the Minds of those who were Witnesses of it. The People beheld it with unspeakable Pleasure and Satisfaction; but the Nobles were equally struck with Fear and Horror, at the Thought of it: They knew not what to think, or what expect, after such a Terrible Example had been made of one of their Order, who at other Times, used to make the whole City, nay, the very Kingdom tremble at his Name; And what increased their Apprehensions still the more, was, that since the Discovery of the Banditti's Plot, the better Sort of Citizens, who as yet, had had no Hand in the Tumult, now rise in Arms, and joyned themselves to the Rabble. The Vice-  
Com. de Mod. roy, indeed, put a more favourable  
Con-

Construction upon this Event; and was even of Opinion, that the Consequence would infallibly turn to the Advantage of *Spain*. He fancied the People were so wholly taken up in wreaking their Hatred and their Rage upon the Nobility, that they would of course, drop their first Design, and make no further Incroachments upon the Sovereign Authority; and that the Rupture, which the Death of Don *Pepe Caraffa*, would certainly occasion between the Nobles and the Commons, would reduce them to the Necessity of chusing the King of *Spain* for Umpire of their Difference; who had been heretofore equally the Aversion of both these Orders of the State. From all which, he concluded, That, in Case one of the Factions should declare itself against the King of *Spain*, the other in Opposition, would stick by him; and therefore he could not lose the Whole, so long as one Half should be on his Side.

Whilst the Viceroy was making these political Reflections, *Masaniello*, from his Tribunal in the Market-place, environ'd with Heads and bloody

Car-

## 140 RISE and FALL of

Carcases, was thundering against the Nobility: And not satisfied with the Death of *Caraffa*, he issued out a Proclamation, whereby he declare*i*  
*the Duke of Mataloni, an Enemy to*  
*the most faithful People; promising*  
*a Reward of 30,000 Crowns, with*  
*the Ransom of 150 Outlaws, for the*  
*apprehending of him.* As the Fisher-  
man was grown very diffident and  
suspicious since the Discovery of the  
Conspiracy against his Person, he made  
no Scruple to believe, that, it had  
been contriv'd by, or at least, carried  
on with the Consent and Approbation  
of the Viceroy; and therefore he deter-  
min'd to reduce him to such Straights,  
as should at once revenge him, and  
force the Viceroy to accept of what-  
ever Conditions he should think fit  
to impose upon him; taking, at the  
same Time, all possible Precautions,  
to screen himself from the Resentment  
and Artifices of the Nobility, against  
which, he thought he could not too  
well fortify himself. To this End, he  
publish'd an Order, *prohibiting up-*  
*on Pain of Death and Firing, all*  
*Persons to convey, or cause to be*

con-

conveyed, any Provision or Victualls of any Kind whatsoever, into the Castle, where the Viceroy was in a Manner pent up, with the Dutchesf his Wife, the Collateral Council and the Council of State, and the greatest Part of the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom: And, as if he intended to make them perish with Thirst as well as Hunger, he caused all the Aqueducts to be cut off, that used to serve for the Conveyance of Water to the Castle. To this Order he added several others, *commanding upon Pain of Death and Firing;* *That all the Nobles who were in the City, shoule deliver up their Arms into the Hands of certain Officers appointed for that Purpose:* *That the City-Gates shoule be all shut up, and no-body suffered to pass or re-pass, without a special Order from the General:* *That diligent Search shoule be made after the Banditti who were concealed in Naples:* *And, That, in Order to prevent them from making any Attempt in the Night-time, great Piles of Faggots and Stubble shoule be burnt*

142 RISE and FALL of  
in all the Streets and publick Places :  
That all the Windows throughout  
the City and Suburbs, should be il-  
luminated ; and the People be up in  
Arms.

All these Orders were as punctua-  
lly and as diligently executed, as the  
Great Sultan's Commands are in Con-  
stantinople. The Blood of *Caraffa*  
had so strongly cemented the Fisher-  
man's Authority, that commanding  
and being obeyed, was to him but  
one and the same Thing : For, what  
the People did out of Love to their  
Chief, the Nobles did it thro' Fear  
of him. So that almost in an Instant,  
all the Houses in *Naples*, as well  
those of Noblemen as others, put up  
Lights in their Windows : Whole Loads  
of Timber, and other combustible  
Materials, were piled up and set on  
Fire in every Street and Corner ; and  
the Night was soon changed into  
bright Day. The other Orders were  
all obeyed with equal Exactness and  
Celerity. But nothing more evident-  
ly discovers, how much Deference was  
paid to the Commands of *Masani-  
ello*, than the Strictness with which  
another

another Order of his was universally complied with, *injoyning under a severe Penalty, all Persons of what Condition or Dignity soever, to walk in Cuelpo, or without Upper-Garments; for Fear any disguised, or suspected Persons, should conceal any Arms under them.* This Order was no sooner published, but Men of all Professions, as well Laicks as Ecclesiasticks, such as Gentlemen of the Long Robe, Magistrates, Priests, Judges, Bishops, Cannons and Dignitaries of the Cathedral Churches, all appeared in the Streets in this ridiculous and indecent Manner. Nay, the very Purple of the Cardinals *Trivultio* and *Filomarino*, was obliged to submit it self to the Ordinance of a Retailer of Fish. I had almost forgot, that the Women too were enjoyn'd by this Order, to wear no Tails to their Gowns, nor appear abroad without having their Petticoats tucked up above their Knees; it having been discovered, that several Men had disguised themselves in Women's Apparel, for the more secret Conveyance of

*Masaniello* having issued out these  
seasonable Orders; and put in Use all  
other necessary Expedients, to prevent  
the Nobility or the Outlaws, from  
executing any Design they might have  
in View; he dispatch'd Couriers to  
several Parts of the Country, and to  
most of the Towns and Villages round  
about; ordering them, *to send the  
choicest of their Men well armed for  
the Defence of the City and Sub-  
urbs.* All obeyed; and vast Num-  
bers soon flocked from all the ad-  
jacent Places, in order to range them-  
selves under the Fisherman's Banners.  
In short, so great was the People's  
Love for him, and so prevailing the  
Terror which he had struck into the  
Hearts of the Nobility, by the severe  
Example he had made of *Caraffa*;  
that whilst the former were flying,  
to execute the Commands of their  
Leader, the latter were so far from  
opposing them; that, excepting those  
who had retired to *Castelovo* with  
the Viceroy, they had, for the most  
Part, intrenched themselves within  
their

their own Country-Seats, waiting, under the most dismal Apprehensions, the Issue of this Grand Affair.

The Viceroy seeing that *Masaniella* treated with him Sword in Hand, and fearing that the Storm which had so long hovered over his Head, should at last burst upon him and overwhelm him, resolved, upon any Terms, to conclude the Treaty of Accommodation; not doubting but Time and Cunning would furnish him with an Opportunity of breaking any Engagements, that should prove a Prejudice to his own, or the Interests of *Spain*. But, to effect it with Success, he judg'd it expedient, to remove first of all, the Suspicion, which the People had, of his being of Intelligence with the Conspirators: And to this End, he writ a Letter to the Archbishop, wherein he disclaimed his having any Part in the late Conjunction; protesting his utmost Abhorrence of it, and promising to deliver up into the People's Hands, as many of the Banditti as he should lay Hold of: He concluded, with assuring his Eminence, That he had

nothing so much at Heart, as the Peace of the City, and the Good of the People; and therefore desir'd him to finish the Treaty as soon as possible.

This Letter, which the Archbishop shewed to *Masaniello*, had its desired Effect. The People began to believe the Viceroy was innocent, and abated very much of their former Rage and Insolence. But his Excellency, willing to give them still a more authentick Testimony of the Sincerity of his Intentions, issued out an Order, commanding upon Pain of Death all the *Banditti* that were in the City and Suburbs, to depart instantly; and proscribing all Persons that should receive, and conceal them in their Habitations.

Thus, the Treaty, which had been interrupted by so many different and unlucky Accidents, was now in a fair Way of being brought to a Conclusion, thro' the Archbishop's Care, or rather, the Subtilty and Craft of *Genovino*. This old Fox, who, tho' a fworn Enemy to the Government, had still more Ambition in him than Ani-

Animosity, wavered almost as soon as he engaged himself in the Sedition: For, whether like most Heads of Factions, he joyn'd himself to the Malecontents, only in Hopes of growing rich with the Spoils of the State; or, whether he did not think it safe, to rely upon the Affection of an inconstant Rabble; he had not been long near *Masaniello's* Person, as his Counsellor, before he listeried to the secret Promises the Viceroy made him of Favour and Preferment. The Viceroy having made sure of him, he carried on his Interests with the greater Efficacy, inasmuch as he had always professed an inveterate Ayer-  
sion to the *Spaniards*; and having, according to the Instructions given him by the Duke of *Arcos*, fomented the Misunderstanding between the Nobles and the Commons, he now managed with great Art and Dexterity, the Treaty of Accommodation in Favour of the *Spanish* Court. But more of this hereafter.

Whilst the Archbishop and *Geno-vino* were putting the last Hand to the Capitulations, another Accident

E 2                      hap

happened, that had like to have frustrated their Labour, and broken off the Treaty; so true it is, that the most critical Interval of Time, is that which is taken up in capitulating. The Galleys of *Naples* being descried at the Peak of *Positlippo*, which is at no great Distance from the City, the People immediately took the Alarm, suspecting they were freighted with Troops, and had been sent for on Purpose by the Viceroy. But, the Archbishop being informed of their Fears, and knowing of what ill Consequence it would be, to give the People Umbrage at this Juncture, writ to the Viceroy, desiring his Excellency *to order the Galleys to keep at Sea, and not to come into the Harbour, till the Treaty should be finished and the Distractions brought to a Period.* The Viceroy very much approved the Archbishop's Advice, and presently sent him an Order for *Doria*, the Admiral; whereby he enjoyned him *not to make to Land, but to do in all Things as Mafaniello should require.* As soon as *Doria* had receiv'd this Order, he sent

sent one of his Officers to pay his Respects to *Masaniello*, and to receive his Commands: Upon which, the General signified his Pleasure, *that he might ride at Anchor within a Mile of the Port, provided he suffered none of his Men to come ashore*. The People were wonderfully pleased with this Proceeding of the Viceroy, who intirely removed by it, the Suspicion which the sudden Arrival of the Galleys might justly create in them.

The Treaty of Accommodation was at length perfected, and fairly drawn up by *Genovino*; and, upon its being read, receiv'd the Approbation of *Masaniello*, and the other Ringleaders of the Rabble. The Archbishop (who, since *Tuesday*-Morning resided altogether in the Convent of *Carmine*, that he might with more Ease negotiate with the People) deputed Father *Francisco Filomarino*, his Eminence's Brother, with the Articles, to the Viceroy, in Order to their being signed, not only by his Excellency, but also, by all the Members and Officers of the Collateral Council and the Council of State; and at the

same Time, to acquaint him with the People's Desire, that the Treaty, after its being sign'd, might be solemnly published in the Cathedral Church, in Presence of his Excellency, and all the several Orders and Tribunals of the City.

The Duke of Arcos read, and maturely weigh'd the Articles that were brought him to be signed; the Substance of which was, "That the People should from that Time forward enjoy all the Benefits, Privileges, and Immunities granted to them by the Emperor *Charles V.* and King *Ferdinand*, according to the Purport and Meaning of the Original Charters, which should hereafter remain in their Hands: That all Excesses and Outrages, committed from the 7th of *July*, when the Insurrection began, to the Day of the Date of these Articles, should be pardoned by a general Amnesty: That the Elect, as well as the Counsellors and Deputies of the People, and other inferior Officers therein specified, should be chosen every Six Months, by the

" Com-

“ Commons, without Need of fur-  
“ ther Confirmation: That the said  
“ Elect should have as many Voices  
“ as all the Nobility together, as it  
“ used to be, before they had been  
“ stripp'd of this Privilege by Don  
“ Frederick, and which the most  
“ Catholick King *Ferdinand* had, in  
“ the Year 1505, promised to re-  
“ store to them: That the Viceroy  
“ should cause the said Articles to be  
“ ratified by the King of *Spain*,  
“ within Three Months after their  
“ Publication; and that they should  
“ be ingraved in Marble, and set  
“ up in the Middle of the Great  
“ Market-place: That the People  
“ should not lay down their Arms,  
“ till the said Confirmation of their  
“ Privileges: And lastly, That in  
“ Case they could not obtain such  
“ a Ratification, and the Execution  
“ of the said Articles and Privileges,  
“ they might with Impunity, rise in  
“ Arms, and strive to redress them-  
“ selves, without being deem'd guilty  
“ of Rebellion, or Irreverence to the  
“ King of *Spain*.”

Altho' the Viceroy knew well enough, that these Articles were going to ruin Fourscore and Ten Thousand Persons, that were concerned in the Gabels; and what was still worse, that the Ministers hereafter, could not raise any more Subsidies, nor oppress the Subject, to support their Ambition and Luxury; yet, he signed them with a smiling Countenance, and gave them to the Collateral Council, and the Council of State, who, having signed them also in their Turns, his Excellency returned them to Father *Francisco*, with the following Letter to the Archbishop.

*Most Eminent,*

THE Success with which it has pleased God to crown your Eminence's Negotiations, gives me the greatest Pleasure and Satisfaction: Nor is it less, than what I always expected from your Lordship's great Care and Zeal for the Publick Good. I congratulate your Eminence thereupon; and beseech you to compleat the Work which you have so happily begun,

begun, by a Solemn Promulgation of the Treaty, as desir'd by the People. Your Eminence knows of what Importance it is, to perform this Ceremony as soon as possible, and that, the Delay of it, cannot but be attended with many fatal Consequences: I need not therefore give your Eminence any further Caution concerning it. As for my Part, as nothing is so dear to me, as the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Good of the People, I have cheerfully granted them all their Demands, and am still ready to give them what further Satisfaction they can desire. God preserve your Eminence many Years,

I am

The greatest Servant

of Your Eminence,

The Duke of Arcos.

From Castelnova,  
this 11th Day  
of July, 1647.

Fa-

Father *Francisco* having delivered the Articles of Capitulation sign'd by the Viceroy, into the Hands of the Archbishop, together with his Excellency's Letter, told him, *That the Viceroy desired passionately to see Masaniello, and pray'd his Eminence to manage an Interview between them.* The Archbishop therefore, in Compliance with the Viceroy's Desire, used his best Endeavours to persuade *Masaniello*, who, as well as the other Leaders, seemed at first very averse to it; but his Eminence, by the Force of his Reasons, at length prevailed; and it was appointed, that the Articles of Capitulation should be read publickly about Two o'Clock in the Afternoon, and that *Masaniello* should afterwards go, in Company with the Archbishop, to pay his Respects to the Viceroy.

It was no sooner noised abroad, that *the Treaty was concluded and signed, and that Masaniello was to go to the Palace, to make a Visit to the Viceroy*, but the Market-place, as well as the Church and Convent of the *Carmelites*, were filled with Multitudes

tudes of the Rabble, who, according to their natural Inconstancy, which makes them susceptible of every new Impression, by their Huzza's and Acclamations of Joy, approved that Peace, which, but a few Hours before they were so averse to. The Capitulations were read aloud, by a Notary in the Church of Carmine; the Cardinal Archbishop, being there present, with *Masaniello*, *Genovino*, *Arpaja* the new Elect, and infinite Numbers of People, who, by their repeated *Io's*, seemed to give their Assent to them and seal the Peace: *Genovino* then went up into the Pulpit; and after having made a short Speech, wherein he extoll'd the *Advantages of Peace, and exhorted the Assembly to give God Thanks, for his wonderful Mercies in terminating the Distractions, and reducing the City to a State of Exemption and Tranquility*, he came down again; and the Whole concluded with a *Te Deum*, which was sung by two Choirs of Musicians whose Voices were accompanied with the sweet Melody of all Kind of Instruments.

The

The Ceremony being ended, The Archbishop, and the Chief Officers of the People set forward for the Viceroy's Palace. *Masaniello*, who, at the Archbishop's Persuasion, had thrown off his Mariner's Dress, appeared on Horseback, with a magnificent Habit, a tow'ring Plume of Feathers in his Hat, and a drawn Sword in his Hand; and thus accou'tred, rid before the Archbishop's Coach: His Brother, also in a rich embroidered Suit, rid on the Right-Side of his Eminence; and *Arpaja* Tribune of the Commons on the Left: *Julio Genovino* came last, followed by 160 Companies of Horse and Foot, consisting in all of about 50,000 Men. It would be hard, to tell how many Praises and Blessings were bestow'd upon the Fisherman, as he pass'd along the Streets, by one and the other Sex, who out of a grateful Sense of the great Deliverance he had wrought for them, justly honoured him with the Glorious and Deserved Title of THE SAVIOUR OF HIS COUNTRY. Nor did

they express their Gratitude by their Words more than by their Actions. The Men strewed the Way before him, with Palm and Olive Branches; and the Ladies from their Windows and Balconies, which were hung with the richest Silks and Tapestry, curtesied as he went by, and throwed down Flowers and Garlands which they had made on Purpose: The Air was fill'd with the ravishing Harmony of peaceful and soft-sounding Instruments, and nothing was to be heard, but universal Sounds of Joy and Triumph.

*Masaniello* being arrived, amidst so much Praife and Applause, to *Castelnovo*, the Captain of the Viceroy's Guard came out to salute him, in the Name of his Excellency, and bid him a *Welcome* to the Palace. *Amalphi* gravely, and in few Words return'd the Compliment; and then making a Sign to the People, that they should be silent, he addressed himself to them in the Manner following.

My

*My dear Companions and Countrymen,*

“ LET us joyfully offer up our  
“ Praises and Thanksgivings to  
“ God, and the most Gracious Lady  
“ of *Carmine*; for the Recovery of  
“ our former Liberty; that dear,  
“ that precious Liberty, which makes  
“ the Memory of those Glorious Mo-  
“ narchs, *Ferdinand* and *Charles V.*  
“ to be of so great Veneration a-  
“ mongst us. Now shall we see re-  
“ vive those Golden Days which made  
“ our Fore-fathers glad under their  
“ auspicious Sway: Like them, we  
“ shall be ———— nay, we are al-  
“ ready like them, exempt and free  
“ from all Gabels and Impositions:  
“ No more shall we groan under the  
“ cruel and intolerable Oppression of  
“ inhumane, blood-thirsty Governors:  
“ No longer toil and slave, like Beasts  
“ of Burden, to feed the Pride and  
“ Luxury of ambitious and haughty  
“ Tyrants: Henceforth, every Man  
“ shall injoy the Fruits of his own  
“ Labour and Industry, and Peace  
“ and Plenty shall for ever flourish  
“ in

" in Naples. I see, my Friends, a  
 " solemn Joy sits upon all your  
 " Brows ; and well may you rejoice  
 " for so noble an Acquisition. For,  
 " who is the Brute that has the  
 " publick Good so little at Heart, as  
 " not to overflow with Gladness up-  
 " on this great Occasion ? If there  
 " be any such, let them die like  
 " Dogs, unpitied, unlamented ; and  
 " may an everlasting Brand of In-  
 " famy be fixed upon their Names.  
 " As for us, my beloved Country-  
 " men, let us from this Moment ba-  
 " nish all Sorrow from our Hearts :  
 " Let us ever commemorate this great,  
 " this happy Day, in which we re-  
 " cover our Rights, our Privileges,  
 " our Freedom, our Lives, our All.  
 " Does not this sudden, this blessed  
 " Change surprize you my dear As-  
 " sociates ? Lost in Transport and A-  
 " mazement, do you not look upon  
 " it as on a pleasing Dream, and al-  
 " most doubt whether you are awake ?  
 " Yes, I know you do. But see my  
 " Friends, this is no Illusion : Be-  
 " hold here, the sacred and substan-  
 " tial Pledges of those immense Be-

Alluding to  
 the Publicans  
 who were quite  
 ruin'd by this  
 Restoration of  
 Privileges.

Holding out  
 the Original  
 Charters.

## 160 RISE and FALL of

“ nefits we boast; this the Gift of  
“ the Emperor *Charles V.* and this,  
“ of Royal *Ferdinand*; whose great  
“ Shades, even now, rejoice, to see  
“ us, their After-Subjects, happy in  
“ the Possession of those Blessings  
“ which we derive from them. Dreams  
“ vanish away in an Instant, but These  
“ shall stand for ever: — But do  
“ not think that I dwell thus on the  
“ great Advantages, which, by my  
“ Toils and Fatigues, I have procur'd  
“ for you, to inhance the Merit of  
“ my Actions, in Hopes of being re-  
“ warded for them: No, I esteem  
“ the Pleasure and the Glory of be-  
“ ing instrumental to the Good of my  
“ Country, a far greater Recompence  
“ than all the Wealth in the Uni-  
“ verse; and, that that alone has  
“ spurred me on, and been the sole  
“ Aim of this successful Undertaking,  
“ let his Eminence the Archbishop  
“ witness for me: He has experienc'd  
“ my Disinterestedness, in my Refusal  
“ of the Two Hundred Crowns a-  
“ Month, which, in the first Day  
“ of the Revolution; he offered to  
“ settle upon me during Life; if I  
“ would

“ would but calm your Resentments,  
“ and make you desist from your just  
“ Pretensions. Nor, even at this Time,  
“ should I have thrown off my tat-  
“ ter'd Weeds, to assume this gaudy  
“ Magnificence, had not his Emi-  
“ nence, for Decency's Sake, and upon  
“ Pain of Excommunication obliged  
“ me to it. No, no, I am still *Masaniello* the Fisherman; such was  
“ I born, such have I liv'd hitherto,  
“ and such I intend to live and die.  
“ And after having fished for, and  
“ caught the Publick Liberty, in that  
“ tempestuous Sea wherein it had been  
“ immersed so long, I'll return to  
“ my former Condition; reserving  
“ nothing for myself, but my Hook  
“ and Line, with which to provide  
“ daily for the necessary Support of  
“ the Remainder of my Life. The  
“ only Favour I shall desire of you,  
“ in Token of Acknowledgment for  
“ all my Labours is, That when I  
“ am dead, you will each of you  
“ say an *Ave Maria* for me: Do  
“ you promise me this?” The People  
answer'd, *Yes, but let it be an Hundred Years hence.* *Masaniello* replied,

M

“ My

## 162 RISE and FALL of

“ My Friends, I thank you; and  
“ as a further Testimony of my Love  
“ to you, and my Adherence to your  
“ Interests, I will give you two  
“ Words of Advice: The first is,  
“ Not to lay down your Arms, till  
“ the Confirmation of your Privileges  
“ arrives from *Spain*: The Second,  
“ That above all Things, you would  
“ mistrust the Nobility, who have  
“ always been our sworn and profes-  
“ sed Enemies: Take Care of them,  
“ and be upon your Guard; for,  
“ like hungry Wolves, they'll watch  
“ an Opportunity, when you are de-  
“ fenceless, to fall upon you and  
“ devour you — I am now going  
“ to negotiate with the Viceroy, and  
“ shall soon be with you again; at  
“ least, before To-morrow-Morning;  
“ but, if you do not see me then,  
“ you may set Fire to the Palace:  
Whereupon they having all promised  
him *they would do it*; he concluded  
his judicious Harrangue, with ampli-  
fying very much upon “ the Advan-  
“ tages that would accrue to the King  
“ of *Spain*, by the Abolishment of  
“ the Gabels; which being prejudi-  
“ cial

cial only to the Partisans, those insatiable Leeches, that had sucked the purest of their Blood, His Majesty should, for the Time to come, enjoy his Revenues intire, which, hitherto, used to be almost wholly absorb'd by his Ministers.

This emphatical and farcavtick Speech being ended, and the Archbishop having, at *Masaniello's* Request, given his Blessing to the People, the General commanded them under Pain of Disobedience, to follow him no further; and then went into the Palace with the Archbishop, *Genovino, Arpaja* and *Mateo d'Amalphi* his Brother. His Excellency, the Vice-roy, stood ready at the Stairs-Head to receive them. As soon as *Masaniello* saw him, he threw himself at his Feet, and having kissed them, and thanked his Excellency in the Name of all the People, for his *gracious Approbation of the Treaty*, he told him, he was come thither to receive what-soever Sentence his Excellency should think fit to pass upon him. But the Vice-roy, raising him up and embrasing

cing him, answer'd, that he was very glad to see him, and was so far from thinking he was criminal, that he would give him daily Proofs of his Favour and Esteem. To this, *Masaniello* replied, that God was his Witness, that the only Scope, and End of all his Designs, was the Service of the King and of his Excellency: After which, the Viceroy, the Archbishop and *Masaniello*, retired all three, into a private Apartment, in order to consult together upon the present Posture of Affairs.

During this Conference, there hap- pen'd an Incident, which sufficiently gave the *Spaniards* to understand, how much the People esteemed *Masaniello*, and how anxious they were for his Safety. A great Concourse of People, whom, the Rumour of *Masaniello*'s Visit and the Curiosity of seeing their General in his new and splendid Equipage had drawn to-  
gether from several Parts, having re-  
forted to the Palace-Yard, where they staid a considerable Time without see-  
ing him appear, began to murmur,  
fearing that some Mischance was be-  
fallen

fallen their Chief, and that the Vice-roy had violated his Faith to him, and caused him to be arrested, or perhaps murdered. The Murmur increased; and the Rabble grew at last so clamorous, that their Noise reach'd the Viceroy's Ears, who being inform'd of the Reason of it, to appease the Tumult, immediately shewed himself with his Company in a Balcony, where *Masaniello* having assur'd the Multitude, *that he was safe and under no manner of Restraint*, they all cried out, *Long live the King of Spain, long live the Duke of Arcos.* The Fisherman then told his Excellency, *he would presently let him see how obedient the Neapolitans were;* and at the same Time, putting his Finger to his Mouth, the Rabble ceased their Cry; a profound Silence immediately followed; and among so great a Multitude, there was scarce one of them seen to breath: Then, commanding *upon Pain of Rebellion, that every Soul there should retire*, the Court-Yard was cleared, as it were, in an Instant, and not a Man left upon the Place.

The Viceroy, having considered with no small Surprise, this Kind of a Miracle, renewed the Conference with the Archbishop and *Masaniello*; wherein it was resolved, *That the Capitulations, that had been signed by the Viceroy and the Collateral Council and the Council of State, should be forthwith printed, and that on the Saturday following, they should be again read publickly in the Cathedral-Church. After which his Excellency, the Councils aforesaid, and all the Officers and Magistrates of the Kingdom, should take a Solemn Oath to observe them inviolably for ever; as also, to obtain the Ratification of them, as soon as possible, from his Catholick Majesty.* The Conference then broke up; and the Viceroy having made several Protestations of Friendship and Esteem to *Masaniello*, and withal assured him, that he was much beholden to him, for that by his strict Severity, he had rid the City of so many Ruffians and Outlaws, he ended, by telling him, that as he highly approved his Conduct hitherto, so now, he left

left the Management of Affairs wholly to his Care and Wisdom. Whether these last Words were seriously spoken by the Viceroy, or only by Way of Compliment, 'tis certain, *Masaniello* interpreted them so much to his Advantage, that from that Moment to the last of his Life, he acted, and in all Respects govern'd, as if he had been King of *Naples*; settling, and deciding, of his own private Authority, all Matters both Civil and Military. But the Viceroy did not dismiss *Mafaniello*, without conferring upon him some more substantial Marks of his Favour, than Compliments and fair Speeches only: For, he made him a Present of a Golden Chain, which indeed he several times refused; but, at the Archbishop's earnest Sollicitation at length accepting of it, he was, at the same time, by his Excellency, created Duke of St. *George*. The Viceroy accompanied this great Honour, with many Caresses, which probably were meant only to amuse *Masaniello*; who, after having kissed the Viceroy's Knee and taken his Leave,

waited upon the Archbishop as far as his Palace ; and from thence retired in his Eminence's Coach pretty late in the Evening to his own House, attended by a numberless Throng of People, who, by their Acclamations, Bonfires, and Ringing of Bells, gave publick Demonstrations of their Joy and Gratitude.

July 12. The Day following, *Mafaniello* issued out a Proclamation, whereby he declared, *That the Office of Captain General to which the People had promoted him, had been confirmed to him by the Viceroy* : And, at the same Time, causing another Tribunal to be erected in *Toledo-Street*, and set out with all manner of Instruments used in Executions, he appointed a Deputy to act there under him ; and applied himself with as much Ardor, and more Authority than ever, to the exterminating the Banditti and the punishing of Offenders, which he did with so much rigid Justice, that among other Examples of his Severity, a Baker who had made his Bread some Ounces lighter than the Assize, was by him ad-

adjudged to be burnt alive in his own *Oven* ; and the Sentence was executed accordingly.

Nor was the Fisherman so intirely taken up in the rigorous Pursuit of the Outlaws, and other flagitious Persons, but he revived, this Morning, several Bans and Orders formerly published ; and exhibited many new ones, relating to the Polity and Civil Government of the City. Among these, was, *An Order, commanding all Persons within an Hour of Night, to retire to their respective Dwellings* : *An Order, for Tradesmen and Shop-keepers to open their Shops on the Morrow, and follow their Occupations as usual* : *An Order, that Strangers as well as Natives, do put up the Arms of the King of Spain on the Right-Hand of their Gates, and those of the most Faithful People on the Left* : And whereas, since the Beginning of the Troubles, several Noblemen, Cavaliers and Ladies had betaken themselves to divers Convents, Nunneries, and other Religious Houses, in order to avoid the Fury of a distracted Multitude ; another Order was

published by *Masaniello*, commanding them, forthwith to repair to their own Houses. All these Orders, (together with many more too tedious and too minute to mention) being affixed to Posts and publick Buildings, and subscribed *THOMAS ANIELLO d'Amalphi*, Head and Captain-General of the most Faithful People of Naples, were obeyed with wondrous Exactness, by Persons of every Rank and Quality. And indeed, our Fisherman who knew of what ill Consequence it would be, to suffer the Crime of Disobedience to go unpunished, would never have pardon'd the least Infringement of any of his Commands: He was satisfied, that nothing was so requisite in the carrying on his great Design, as the exact Obedience of the People, and therefore, from the very Beginning of the Insurrection, he chiefly applied himself to form them to it; and he wisely judged with *Epaminondas*, *That the Obedience of the Soldier is the firmest Basis and Support of a General, whose Arms, with this Advantage, can seldom fail of Success.*

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But, since I have mentioned the Name of *Epaminondas*, I shall take the Liberty to introduce a memorable Story of that Great Man, which, as it is pertinent to our Subject, will not I hope, be unacceptable to the Reader. This renowned General of the *Thebans*, being on the Point of giving Battle to the *Greeks*, was by the Oracle advised to defer the Engagement, because the Stars portended an entire Defeat of his Army, and on the contrary, promised a successful Event to his Enemies. But *Epaminondas*, whose Wisdom equal'd his Courage, bethought himself of an ingenious Device, by which he advanced his Glory in Spite of the malignant Influence of the Stars. The Stratagem was this: He writ in a Pair of Tablets, *If you obey your Leaders, the Oracle declares you Victorious*; and in other Tablets he writ, *If you obey not your Leaders, the Oracle denounces Destruction*; and then caused these Oracles to be presented to his Soldiers, who, finding that Success and Victory depended upon their Obedience to their Commander,

mander, with uncommon Bravery forced the Intrenchment of the Enemy, and came back triumphant.

While *Masaniello* was issuing out Orders, hearing of Complaints, receiving Petitions, and passing Decrees, Information was given him by his Agents, *that they had taken a Felucca with six Mariners aboard, and four short Coats compleatly armed, upon one of whom they had found a large Pacquet of Letters; that they had bound them, and came to know his Pleasure, how they should dispose of the Prisoners.* The General order'd them *to be brought before him;* which being accordingly done, and the Letters opened, it appeared they were sent from the Duke of *Mataloni* to his Secretary: But, nothing could be gathered from them, because they were written in a mysterious and unintelligible Manner: *Masaniello* therefore commanded *the short Coats to be dragg'd to the Rack, in Hopes that Torments might force them to a Discovery.* But whether they were ignorant of any Design, or would not disclose what they knew, they suffer'd long

long the Torture, after which, they had their Heads taken off and fix'd upon Poles, for an Example, to deter others from bringing Messages from the declared Enemies of the Common-wealth. The six Mariners were also strictly examined; but their Innocence appearing evidently by the Ingenuity of their Answers, they were acquitted and set at Liberty.

Though nothing, as has been said, could be inferr'd from the intercepted Letters, tending to the Hurt or Pre-judice of the *most faithful People*; yet did they very much increase *Masaniello's* Diffidence; who, to prevent the Duke of *Mataloni* from putting in Practice any Project he might have on Foot, appointed Thirty Thousand Men more for the Guard of the City and Suburbs, and renew'd the Order of the preceding Day, *to let none come in or go out at the City-Gates without his special Permission*. Nor was this all; for he detached several Parties of arm'd Men, to go in Search of the Duke's Servants, and of such other Persons as were either related to him, or had any

any Dependance upon him; fully resolved, to exert his Vengeance upon him in the Persons of his Friends or Domesticks: Whereupon several of them being apprehended and brought before him, he caused them to be tortured, in order to make them reveal where the Duke was, or where he had conceal'd his Goods: Among these, a Slave of the Duke's being taken as he was leading a Couple of fine Horses, to save his Life, declar'd, *that his Master's Goods were hid in several Monasteries* which he nam'd, and who, upon the General's Summons, surrendered all the Duke's rich Moveables, computed to be worth above Five Hundred Thousand Crowns, besides Four Thousand Crowns in Specie. *Masaniello* caused the said Goods to be immediately transported to a Magazine near the Market-place, and there laid up without any-body's daring under Pain of Life, to carry off the least Rag; but the Money he distributed among the Centinels whom he had appointed for the Defence of the City. And not contented with having deprived this Nobleman of

of so many Riches, he ordered his Palace at *Chiagia*, which was a noble and magnificent Structure, to be burnt; in the Execution of which Order, the furious Rabble chancing to find his Picture, after they had strangely mangled and disfigured it, *Masaniello* himself hung it upon the same Post to which the Head and Foot of Don *Pepe Caraffa* were fastened, putting this Inscription in large Letters underneath:

THIS IS THE DUKE OF  
*MATALONI*, REBEL TO  
HIS MAJESTY, AND  
TRAITOR TO THE MOST  
FAITHFUL PEOPLE.

One Thing very remarkable in this Event, and which by many has been look'd upon as a Judgment of God, is, that the Post on which were suspended the Head of *Caraffa*, and the Effigies of the Duke of *Mataloni*, was erected upon the very Spot where the innocent and unfortunate Prince of *Sanza* had, at the Instigation of these two Brothers, been beheaded,

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pursuant to the Sentence passed upon him by the Duke of *Medina de las Torres*, then Viceroy of *Naples*.

While *Masaniello* was thus wreaking his Rage, not only upon the Duke of *Mataloni*, but upon several other rich Persons, whose Houses were by his Command either burnt or demolish'd, the Viceroy who saw himself quite destitute of Provisions in *Castellano*, sent him a Messenger to acquaint him with his Necessities, and *to desire him to send him some Relief*. *Masaniello* readily consented, and sent him fifty Men heavy loaden with all Sorts of Provisions: And to shew himself still more complaisant to the *Spaniards*, he ordered great Store of Victuals, as well as a Supply of Money to be given to *Doria* the Admiral, who, notwithstanding his repeated Instances to *Masaniello*, could never obtain Leave for himself or any of his Men to come ashore.

By this Time, the Fisherman of *Amalfi* grown insolent with Success and Power, expected Observance from every Body, even the Princes of the Church; and therefore he sent a Message

sage to the Viceroy, intimating, that he wondered very much he had not seen Cardinal *Trivulzio* all this while. The Cardinal, who had an Apartment in the Viceroy's Palace; being advised by his Excellency and the Archbishop, to visit *Masaniello*, who otherwise might be apt to take Exception, and perhaps affront his Lordship, went in his Coach to the Market-place; where he saluted the barefooted Fisherman with the Title of *most Illustrious*; to which *Masaniello* replying, said, *This Visit from your Eminence; tho' indeed it be something of the latest, is nevertheless very dear to me.* The Standers-by could scarce forbear laughing at his Words; and some of them were even offended, to see a Fellow extracted out of the Dirt, arrogate as much State as if he had been the greatest Prince in Christendom. His Eminence, after a short Visit, took his leave, and *Masaniello* ordered two Files of Musketeers to conduct him to the Castle. But, before he could well get there, several Gentlemen came in the Viceroy's Name, to return *Masaniello*

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## 178 RISE and FALL of

Thanks for the Refreshments he had sent him, and desired him to accept of divers Presents which they brought from his Excellency. And soon after, he received another Message from the Vice-Queen, who desired to know how he did, and also presented him with a rich Suit of Cloaths, which she pray'd him to wear for her sake.

*July 13.* The great Day at length appeared,  
*D. Sab.* in which the Inhabitants of *Naples* expected to see the Public Tranquillity fully restored and firmly established, by the solemn Sanction of the Capitulations; the Ceremony of which, was to be performed in the Cathedral Church. *Masaniello* having spent all the Morning in hearing Causes, redressing Grievances, and making several Regulations relating to Affairs both Civil and Military, the Viceroy, immediately after Dinner, sent him a Pair of very fine Horses very richly caparisoned, the one for himself, and the other for his Brother, to appear with at the Calvacade.

All things being in a Readiness, *Masaniello* and his Brother both dressed in Cloth of Silver Tissue, move flow-

slowly towards the Castle, the former bearing a drawn Sword in his Hand, and the latter the Articles of Capitulation. Next after these came *Julio Genovino* and *Ciccio Arpaja*, the Elect of the People; followed by an incredible Multitude of People, which thickened from Street to Street, by other Numbers that joyn'd them as they went along. They came to the Palace, where *Masaniello* having met with a most courteous Reception from the Viceroy, soon after came down again with his Excellency, the Collateral Council, the Council of State, and all the principal Officers and Magistrates of the Kingdom, who, in great Pomp and Order, went together to the Cathedral. The Archbishop, at the Head of his Chapter, stood ready at the Church-Door to receive them: And being entered and seated every one, according to his Rank and Degree of Precedence, the Capitulations were read aloud by *Donato Coppola* Secretary of the Kingdom; after which the Viceroy, the Councils of State and War, the Royal Chamber of *Santa Chiara*, the Tribunals of the Chan-

cery, and all the Civil and Criminal Judges of the Great Court of the *Vicaria*, swore upon the *Holy Evangelists* to observe them inviolably forever, and to procure without Delay the Ratification of them from his Catholick Majesty. During the Reading of the Articles, *Masaniello* stood up all the while with his Sword drawn in his Hand, and was very busy in explaining some of them to the People; and inlarging very much upon others: But, as soon as the *Oath* had been administred, and *Te Deum* sung by an Excellent *Chorus*, he made a Harangue, wherein he addressed himself sometimes to the Viceroy and sometimes to the Multitude; confounding several good Things with many senseless and impertinent ones, which the Pride of having successfully brought about so great a Design, made him utter with a deal of Boldness and Freedom of Speech: Having finished his Discourse, he began to tear in Pieces the rich Dress he had on, and desired the Archbishop and the Viceroy to help him off with it, saying, *That as he had only put it on for the Honour of the Cere-*

*Ceremony, it was now become useless since that was ended; that for his Part, he had done all he had to do, and would now return to his Hook and Line.* This Proceeding seems to have been a Prelude to the Madness which not long after possessed him. However, being made to understand, *that it would be very indecent to strip in the Church, and in the Sight of so many Persons*, he went out with the Viceroy, who, with all the Nobility and Gentry that attended him, made a Procession through the most publick Streets of the City, and then returned to the Castle, where he was saluted by several Peals of Ordnance. *Masaniello* having taken his leave of the Viceroy, went back to his House in the Market-place, through all the Acclamations and Blessings that were due from the People to the great Restorer of their Privileges.

July 14.

Thus ended that happy Day, which crown'd all *Naples* with Joy, and put a new Face upon the whole City. And the next, *Masaniello*, as the Author of this great Change, was congratulated, and received the Compli-

ments of several of the Nobility and Gentry, the Ministers of State, and almost all the Ecclesiasticks and Religious Orders of the City, who, from thence went to pay their Respects also to the Archbishop, and returned him Thanks, *for having by his great Zeal and indefatigable Care, contributed very much to bring the Commotions to so a happy a Period.*

But, *Mafaniello*, who from the seventh Day of *July* to the *Sunday* following, had behaved himself with so much Wisdom and Kingly Authority, to the great Surprize of every Body, grew delirious all on a sudden. His Madness first appeared, by the Manner in which he treated the most Illustrious *Caraffelli*, Archbishop of *Santa Severina*. This Prelate having Occasion to repair to his Archbishoprick, and there being an Order, still in Force, forbidding any Body to go out of the City, without a Licence first obtained from *Mafaniello*, he went to his House in order to get one. *What wouldest thou have, my fine Lord*, said the Fisherman as soon as he saw him? *Your Leave, reply'd his*  
*Emi-*

*Eminence, to go to my Church in Calabria, whither my Affairs call me ; Upon which Masaniello call'd out, Who waits there ? Let four Hundred Men get ready quickly to accompany my Lord as far as his Bishoprick. Sir, says the Archbishop, I do not go by Land, but by Sea ; and for that Purpose, have provided four Feluccas to transport me and my Family. Four Feluccas, answered Masaniello ! You mean Forty, my Lord ; at least I intend you shall have so many to attend you. Sir, reply'd the Archbishop, I thank you, but four will serve my Turn as well as Forty ; more would not only be needless, but troublesome. Well, says Masaniello, offering him a Bag full of double Pistoles, as to that, your Lordship may do as you please ; but you shan't refuse this little Present, which I desire you to accept of, 'twill defray the Expence of your Voyage. The Prelate smil'd, and giving him many Thanks, told him, he did not want them. Nay, replied Masaniello, did not I say I would not be refused ? Here, I command you upon Pain of*

my Displeasure, to take them. The Archbishop thinking it unsafe to resist the Caprice of a Madman, was forced to compound, and at last accepted of five Hundred of them: The Fisherman then gave him a Pass-port in Writing, and having imbraced him, wished him *a good Voyage*. Much about the same Time, a Gentleman of *Auversa* coming to speak with him about some private Concerns of his own, he dispatched him with a Kick in the Br——ch, saying, *Be gone, I make thee Prince of Auversa.*

Many and various are the Reflections that have been made upon this sudden Madness of *Mafaniello*. Some are of Opinion, That that stupendous Height of Power to which he arrived, as it were in an Instant, made him giddy and turn'd his Brains. Others will have it to be occasioned by the great and continual Fatigues he underwent, scarce ever allowing himself time to take the natural Refreshments of Food or Sleep. But, the most probable and received Opinion is, that the Viceroy had given him an intoxicating Draught, which, by inflaming his Blood, should make him commit such

such Extravagancies, as would oblige the People to despise and forsake him.

Without extending myself particularly upon a Relation of his Follies, I shall only observe, that the *Sunday* immediately following the Conclusion of the Treaty, he got on Horseback, and riding full speed through all the Streets of *Naples*, he not only abused, maimed, and even killed many Persons who had the Misfortune to come in his Way ; but also caused several Officers, for the most trivial Offences, to be apprehended, and put instantly to Death.

About three of the Clock in the Afternoon, he went to the Palace, having a ragged Coat on his Back, only one Stocking, and without either Hat, Sword, or Band ; and shewing himself in this Equipage to the Viceroy, he told him, *he was almost starv'd to Death, and would fain eat something.* Whereupon his Excellency calling to his Servants, *and commanding something to be brought and set before the Lord Mafaniello,* *Amalphi reply'd, that it was no Matter, for he did not come then to eat,* *but*

but to desire his Excellency to accompany him as far as Posillipo, where they should take a Collation together, having provided every thing necessary for that Purpose ; and at the same Time giving a Call, several Mariners came in, loaden with all Sorts of Fruits and Dainties. But the Vice-roy, who was not in a Humour to drink with the crazy Fisherman, excused himself on account of a *Pain in his Head, with which*, he said, *he was that very Moment taken* ; and ordering his own Gondola to be made ready, *Masaniello* went aboard, and was attended by Forty Feluccas, which were filled with Persons who used their utmost Endeavours to divert him ; some of them dancing, some playing upon **Musical Instruments**, and others diving to pick up several Pieces of Gold which he threw into the Sea.

This agreeable Airing, instead of refreshing him, rather contributed to extinguish that small Spark of Reason that was left in him, and wholly deprived him of his Senses. For, 'tis reported of him, that in going and com-

coming, he drank no less than twelve Bottles of a strong-bodied Wine call'd *Lachrimæ Christi*, which so dried up his Brain, that he was never after seen to act or to speak in cool Blood. In the mean While *Masaniello's* Wife went to visit the Vice-Queen, in a new Coach, which the Duke of *Mataloni* had bespoke for his Wedding-Day, and for which he was to pay Eight Thousand Duccats: She was magnificently dress'd, and had about her a vast Quantity of rich Jewels that had been presented to her by her Excellency. The Vice-Queen gave her a most honourable Reception; and having treated her very splendidly, and put upon her Finger a Ring of great Value, she returned home very well pleased, with her Husband's Mother, and his two Sisters, who had accompanied her in this Visit.

*Masaniello* being return'd late from *Posillipo*, he appear'd again upon the Morrow on Horseback, riding up and down the City like a Devil broke loose, and striking and wounding with his drawn Sword every Body he met with: Nor did his Frenzy discover itself.

self less by his Words than by his Actions: For sometimes, he talk'd of giving up the Supreme Command, and indeed he had sent a Message to the Duke of *Arcos* the Day before to that Effect; and at other Times, he said *he would take off the Viceroy's Head*. He sent an Order under *Pain of Death and Firing*, to *Don Ferrant* and *Don Carlos Caracciolo*, two Nobles, to come and kiss his Feet publickly in the Market-place, for not stepping out of their Coaches to salute him, as they accidentally passed by him in the Street.

The Viceroy being inform'd at large of these horrid Extravagancies, and fearing, that this Madman, back'd by a mutinous Rabble, might some time or other make him feel the Effects of his frantick Fury, he fortified himself once more in *Castelovo*; by digging a deep Trench all round it, and introducing into the Palace as many Soldiers as he could get together. But while he was employed in providing thus for his own Defence, *Don Ferrant* and *Don Carlos*, instead of obeying the Fisherman's insolent Summons,

mons, came and presented themselves before him, *deploring the miserable and abject Condition of the Neapolitan Nobility, who, all on a sudden fallen from their antient Glory, now saw themselves trampled under Feet, by a Wretch that was sprung from the very Dregs of the Rabble.* As they were yet speaking, *Genovino and Arpaja also came in, heavily complaining against Masaniello, who, but a few Hours before, had caned one of them, and given a Slap o' the Face to the other.* They told the Viceroy, *that these strange and unreasonable Proceedings had so terrified the ci- viller Sort of People, and taken them off from their Affection to Masaniello, that many of the chief Citizens having by their Advice met together, they came to a Resolution of letting his Excellency know, "That pro- vided they could be well assured of never being molested in the Injoy- ment of the Immunities and Pri- vileges restored, they would no longer follow Masaniello, but im- instantly return to their former Obe- dience and Duty to his Excellency."*

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The Viceroy, pleased to know that the People were in the very Disposition he could wish, immediately published a new Ban, by which he re-confirmed the Capitulations; which was no sooner done, but a considerable Number of Citizens met in the Piazza of St. *Austin*, where it was unanimously agreed, "That the Office of Head and Captain-General of the People should be taken away from *Masaniello*, and That he should be confin'd in a strong Hold for the Remainder of his Days:" But no-body could find in his Heart, to take away the Life of him who had restor'd the Publick Liberty, and free'd his Country.

But these Resolutions were not powerful enough to remove the Viceroy's Fears; and tho' he fancied he saw *Masaniello* void of Power, and fast bound in Chains, yet, even in this Light, he could not consider him without trembling: He therefore resolved not to reject the Proposal that was made him by *Michel Angelo Ar-dizonne*, who offered to make away with him at the Hazard of his own Life:

*Life* ; and the better to incourage him to put in Execution this hardy Undertaking, the Viceroy promised him among other Things, *a Reward of Ten Thousand Crowns.*

In the mean time, *Masaniello*, who had taken t'other Jaunt to *Posillippo*, and knew nothing of what was intended against him, was now upon his Return ; and being landed, began to do a Thousand extravagant Things : At last he leap'd with all his Cloaths on into the Sea ; from whence soon after coming out again, and brandishing his Sword aloft, he ran full drive among the Crowd that was standing upon the Beach, who, fearing he should do some Mischief, were obliged in their own Defence to make sure of his Person : And accordingly, having laid Hold on him and bound him, they took him to his own House, where they left him under a strong and sure Guard.

Next Morning, being *Tuesday* the *July 16.* 16th of *July*, *Marco Vitale*, a young Man of great Wit and Viyacity, and chief Secretary to *Masaniello*, being got out of the Castle, where, it seems, he

he had been, upon some Pretence or other, detain'd all Night, for Fear he should dive into, and discover to his Master, the secret Designs that were carrying on against him, it happened, I say, that as he was going along, he met, not far from the Palace, several Companies of Soldiers in Arms; and proudly asking them, *By whose Authority they had taken up Arms?* One of the Captains told him, *'Twas by Order of the Viceroy.* *'Tis well,* (replied Vitale very unseasonably) *I am going directly to the Market-place, and thy Head shall pay for't.* The Captain answer'd this Menace, no otherwise than by running his Sword into the Body of this unfortunate Wretch, who, with this Wound, and a Pistol-shot that succeeded it, fell down dead upon the Spot.

The Viceroy fearing, that if this Accident should come to the Knowledge of *Masaniello*, he might get the Start of him and keep upon his Guard, he urged the Conspirators to *hasten his Death.* But this poor Lunatick, having a little before made his Escape out of Custody, went into the Church  
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of our Lady of *Carmine*, whose Festival being this Day to be celebrated, was fill'd with an infinite Number of Persons who came there to perform their Devotions, and waited for the Archbishop's Coming to sing Mass. As soon as he appear'd, *Masaniello* went up to him, and told him, that *he plainly perceived the People had abandoned him, and now went about to take away his Life*; that since he must die, he desired that the *Viceroy, and all the Tribunals of Naples, would first make a Solemn Procession to the most holy Mother of Carmine, his Patroness, and that afterwards Death would be welcome to him*; and at the same time, putting a Letter into the Hands of the Archbishop, he desired his Eminence to *send Some-body with it to the Viceroy*. The Archbishop having imbraced him, and very much commended him *for his Religious Zeal*, immediately dispatched one of his Gentlemen with the Letter to the Palace; and then coming up to the Great Altar, he put himself in a Posture to begin the Service, when *Masaniello* going into the Pulpit, and

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holding out a Crucifix in his Hand, directed himself to the People, and earnestly besought them *not to forsake him*; putting them in Mind of the *Dangers and the Toils* which he had *encountered and undergone* for their *Sake*; the great *Deliverance* he had *wrought for them*; and lastly, the *rich and inestimable Benefits* which he had *procured them*, and they had *so lately seen confirmed in this very Church*. But the Vehemency of his Discourse, throwing him again into one of his raving Fits; he began to condemn himself for the *Badness of his past Life*, and exhorted *every one to make the like Confession* to their *Ghastly Father*, that *God's Anger might thereby be appeased*: From these, he ran into several other extravagant and ridiculous Expressions, some of which favouring of Heresy, the Archbishop was forced to use the Interposition of some of the Assistants to get him out of the Pulpit. As soon as he was come down, he went to the Altar, and throwing himself at the Archbishop's Feet, he intreated his Eminence *to depute his Chaplain to the*

the Viceroy, to assure him, that he was ready to resign his Office and Authority to his Excellency. The Archbishop promised he would do it; and seeing he was all in a Sweat, occasioned by the violent Agitation of his Spirits, he commanded some of the Religious to take him to their Dormitory, to have him dried, and to let him refresh himself with a little Sleep.

Scarce was this Order executed, and the Archbishop gone out of the Church, when the Assassins who had conspired the Death of *Masaniello* came into it; and from thence passed to the Cloyster, crying out, *Long live the King of Spain, and let none from henceforth upon Pain of Life obey Masaniello.* Tho' the Conspirators were but very few in Number, yet, the People did not oppose them, but on the contrary, making Way for them, they went strait to the Convent, searching and inquiring every-where for *Masaniello*. This unhappy Man, hearing Somebody call *Masaniello*, runs out to meet his Murderers, saying, *Is it me you look for, my People? Behold, I am here!*

here ! But all the Answer he had, was from four Musquets that were fired upon him all at one Time, by *Salvatore Cataneo, Carlos Cataneo, Angelo Ardizone, and Andrea Rama.* He instantly dropp'd down upon the Place, and having but just Time enough to cry out, *Ah ! ingrateful Traytors,* he breathed his last. *Salvatore Cataneo* then cut off his Head, and fixing it on the Top of a Spear, he and his Accomplices carried it directly to the Viceroy, crying out all the Way, as they went along, *Masaniello is dead ; Masaniello is dead : Let the King of Spain live, and let no-body presume hereafter to name Masaniello.* This bold Action so terrified the Rabble, who, to the Number of about Eight or Ten Thousand, were then in the Church, or in the Market-place, that far from avenging the Death of their Captain-General by that of his Murderers, they seem'd stupefied and motionless ; and in this Occurrence, gave a memorable Instance of the Inconstancy of the Populace, whose Love may be justly compared to a broken Reed, which, whoever

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means upon, is sure of falling. In Effect, this same People who, from the first Beginning of the Insurrection, had loved *Masaniello* even to Adoration, calmly saw him murdered, and without murmuring suffered his Head to be taken off, and afterwards thrown into a Ditch call'd the *Corn-Ditch* by his Homicides; whilst his Body, at the Instigation of his Enemies, was, as he himself had foretold it, dragg'd thro' all the Kennels of *Naples* by a Company of Black-Guards, who, when they were tired with haling it about, cast it into another Town-Ditch, that lies without *Porta Nolana*.

It would be difficult to say how greatly the Nobility and Gentry were transported with Joy upon this Occasion. They, who did not dare to shew their Heads, or stir abroad during the Commotions, came now in Sholes, as one may say, to congratulate the Vice-roy upon their happy Period and the Death of *Masaniello*. After which his Excellency, accompanied by the Archbishop, and the Chief Officers and Magistrates of the Kingdom, went with great Solemnity to the Church of

*Carmine*, to return God Thanks and the most Glorious Patron of *Naples*. *St. Gennaro*, whose Sacred Head and Blood were taken out and exposed to publick View. This Act of Devotion being performed, his Excellency the Viceroy shewed himself in the Great Market-place, where he caused the Confirmation of the Articles sworn to the *Saturday* before, to be proclaim'd by Sound of Trumpet; and then returned to his Palace, with the universal Acclamations of that very Rabble, who, but a few Days before, had pulled him by the Whiskers, and offered him all manner of Indignities.

Thus rose and fell *Mafaniello* of *Amalphi*, the Dread of the *Spaniards*, the Avenger of Publick Oppressions, and the Saviour of his desolate Country. All Antiquity cannot furnish us with such another Example as his; and After-Ages will hardly believe what Height of Power this ridiculous Sovereign arrived to, who, trampling bare-foot on a Throne, and wearing a Mariner's Cap instead of a Diadem, in the Space of four Days, raised an Army of above 150,000 Men, and made

made himself Master of one of the most populous Cities in the World; of *Naples*, the Metropolis of so many fair Provinces, and at once the Mother and the Nurse of so many illustrious Princes and renowned Heroes. And, as if Fortune, that capricious Jilt, had taken Delight in raising a Fisherman above the greatest Monarch, She not only submitted to his Empire, that innumerable Rabble that always followed him, but even that antient and generous *Neapolitan* Nobility itself, whose immortal Exploits have filled the whole Universe with their Fame. In short, it may be averred without Excess, that, neither the most formidable Tyrants, nor the Princes the most beloved, were ever so much dreaded, or so soon obeyed as *Masaniello* was, during his short but stupendous Reign. His Orders were without Reply; his Decrees without Appeal; and the Destiny of all *Naples*, might be said to depend upon a single Motion of his Hand.

Those who have most curiously inquir'd into this great and sudden Revolution of which he was the Author,

O 4 have

have for the most Part look'd upon it as a pure and immediate Effect of God's Judgments, who, to chastise the Avarice, the Pride, and the Barbarity of the *Spanish* Ministers, which were then at their highest Pitch, singled out the Arm of this poor Fisherman to execute his Anger. Nor is this Opinion without Foundation: For, if we examine the Actions and Accidents of *Masaniello's* Life, we shall find them too extraordinary and too wonderful, not to have been in a peculiar Manner directed by the Hand of Providence. 'Tis reported, that whilst he was yet in the Cradle, two *Capuchins* accidentally calling in at his Mother's House, one of them took him into his Arms, and having look'd very stedfastly upon him for some Time, he told her, that *that Child should one Day come to be the Master of Naples, but that his Government would have but a very short Duration.* We have already taken Notice of his own Prophecies, relating to his Death, together with the Cause, Time, and Manner of it. But, what will raise our Admiration most of all is, that he,

he, who had never had any Education, and who had always passed among those of his Acquaintance for *a meer Natural*, was all on a sudden seen to act and to speak, as if he had been conversant in Politicks and the Management of Publick Affairs. And indeed, with how much Wisdom did he not make, and maintain in the very Heat of the Commotions, the most useful Orders and Regulations that the wisest Legislators and the most experienced Generals could ever be capable of? With what Art and Address did he not insinuate himself into the Hearts of so many Thousands of Men, by far his Superiors, encouraging the Fearful, extolling the Bold, reproaching the Coward, and most pathetically describing to all, the miserable State of their Country, groaning under the heavy Exactions of proud and avaritious Ministers, and animating them to revenge and redress themselves? Cardinal *Filomarino* himself, has acknowledged, *that in the several Conferences he had with him with respect to the Treaty of Accommodation, he had often been amazed at*

*the*

202 RISE and FALL of  
*the Solidity of his Judgment, and the  
Subtilty of his Contrivances.* In short,  
let us but reflect upon the Greatness  
of that Enterprize which he projected,  
and executed for the Good of his  
Country: That indefatigable Assiduity  
with which he applied himself to it,  
which robbed him of the Hours of  
Nourishment and Repose, and made  
*Com. de Mod.* him dictate to seven Secretaries all at  
one Time: That just Severity, which  
obliging him to put so many Persons  
to Death, never exerted itself on any  
whose Crimes had not deserved it:  
But, above all, that noble and gene-  
rous Disinterestedness, which kept him  
poor in the Midst of such vast Heaps  
of Wealth; and we shall be apt to  
conclude with a certain *Neapolitan*  
Gentleman, "That *Mafaniello* seems  
"to have been endowed with no o-  
"ther Qualifications, but such as were  
"necessary for the Execution of the  
"Divine Vengeance."

As to the Duke of *Arcos*, whether  
he acted with Prudence or no, in cau-  
sing *Mafaniello* to be put to Death, I  
will not take upon me to determine.  
However, I think it may be justly  
doubted,

doubted, whether the Death of *MasanIELLO* was not more to the Prejudice than the Benefit of *Spain*. For altho' it may be alledged, that the Sedition which he first promoted, seemingly tended to the Hurt of the State, and the weakening of the Sovereign Authority, yet it is certain, he was so far from endeavouring to estrange the Peoples Affections and Allegiance from *Philip* the IV. who reigned at that Time, that, on the Contrary, he always professed the greatest Respect and Veneration for him: For, besides making the People often cry out, *long live the King of Spain*, and commanding them to put his *Majesty's Arms over their Doors*, his receding from that Proposition whereby the Castle of Saint *Elmo* was to be delivered into his Hands, as a Security for the Performance of the Conditions of Peace, is an undeniable Proof of his Loyalty. Besides, the very Commotions which he raised in *Naples*, may be said to have been in some Manner advantageous to the *Spaniards*; since they contributed very much to the Extirpation of the Outlaws and other publick Nusances, and at the same time, fully

fully revenged them upon the Nobility, by the cruel Rage with which the Rabble pursued them. Lastly, the Abolishment of the Gabels seems to have been in a great Measure beneficial to his Catholick Majesty, whose Domain and other Revenues scarce amounting to a Million of Gold yearly, was now on the Point of receiving five Million all at once, by means of a Donative which *Masaniello* had resolved to present him with, and which he would certainly have accomplished, (having already levied considerable Sums to that End) if the Suddenness of his Death had not prevented it.

But it is not just, that these Reflections should make us leave the Head and the Body of *Masaniello* so long unburied and asunder; and after having exposed the Ingratitude of the People, in forsaking their great Deliverer, it is but reasonable, that we should also take Notice of the Sorrow and Repentance which they expressed for it, by the pompous Obsequies with which they honoured his Remains. The Day immediately following that of his Death, several Children, at the Perswasion of some

July 17.

Per

Persons who told them, it was a *Shame that the Corpse of him who had done so much for the Good of his Country, should be thus exposed to the Dogs*, went and fetched his Body, and after they had washed and cleaned it well, carried it on a Bier to the Cathedral Church of *Carmine*. At the same time, a young Man living in the Market-place, called *Jeronymo Donneruma* went with a Company of Men all armed to look for his Head in the *Corn Ditch*; and having found it, he brought it along with him to the same Place where the Body was, in order to have them joyned together. This being done, it was resolved in a general Assembly of the People, who were gathered together on purpose, *that Masaniello deserved to receive the greatest Honours, as Head and Captain-General of Naples*; and accordingly, his Corpse, preceded by five hundred Priests and Religious, and followed by forty thousand Men up in Arms, and almost as many Women with Beads in their Hands, was carried through several the most

pub-

publick Streets of the City, with all the Solemnities that are commonly used at the Funeral of a Martial Commander. As they passed by the Palace of the Viceroy, his Excellency, to conform to the Times, sent eight of his Pages with Torches in their Hands, to accompany the Corpse, and at the same time, ordered the *Spaniards* who were then upon Guard, to lower their Ensigns and salute him as he went by. He was at last brought back again to the Cathedral Church, and there buried; whilst all the Bells in *Naples* rung a mournful Peal, and amidst the Tears and Lamentations of an infinite Multitude of Women, who shewed so much Respect and Veneration to his Dust, that one may say, that by the Effect of a popular Inconstancy which is not to be equalled, *Masaniello*, in less than three Days, was obeyed like a Monarch, murdered like a Villain, and revered like a Saint.

Thus have I traced the History of the *Neapolitans*, from the first Origin of their Civil Misfortunes and Sufferings, under a ravenous and over-bearing

ing Ministry, to the first Period of Tyranny and Oppression among them; that is to say, to their being restored to the full Possession of their Rights and Privileges, by the Fisherman-Hero. Happy for them, had they never been molested in the Enjoyment of them, and the Publick-Faith remained inviolate! But alas! They were soon made sensible by a fatal Experience, That the most sacred, and most religious Oaths and Covenants, are not strong enough to bind Princes, nor their Ministers, to act contrary to their Views of Interest and Ambition. Not many Days after *Masaniello's* Death, the Viceroy made *Julio Genovino* President of one of the Courts of Justice, and gave him besides, several other publick Marks of his Favour and Esteem. The People were surprized at it; and they could not conceive what it was, that should induce the Viceroy to give such extraordinary Demonstrations of Favour, to a Man, who had, with the greatest Warmth, so lately espoused the Interest of the *Neapolitans*, and upon all Occasions had in a particular Manner, manifested

his

his Enmity to the *Spaniards*: This was a Mystery to them, and they were at a Loss to unriddle it. But it was not long before their Eyes were opened, by the Publication of the Printed Treaty. They observed, that the Fourteenth Article in it, contain'd a Salvo, which had not been read to them in the Cathedral-Church, and which indeed, made the Treaty void and of no Effect: The Purport of it is as follows: "That All Taxes and " Gabels 'till then imposed and exact-  
" ed, should be abrogated and annul-  
" led for ever; such of them only  
" EXCEPTED, as were alienated  
" to private or particular Persons,  
" which should always subsist, any  
" Thing in this Treaty mention'd to  
" the contrary, notwithstanding." Now,  
there being no Tax in the Kingdom,  
but what was alienated, All the Gabels  
and Taxes consequently remained still  
in Force; and this Treaty, that was  
concluded with so much Solemnity,  
and afterwards confirmed by so many  
Oaths, was only a Politick Trick, to  
lull the People asleep, till the Ministry  
shou'd find a fit Opportunity to re-  
plunge

plunge them into a State of Slavery and Subjection. But all Crimes are not successful alike; and the Allwise Providence of Heaven would not suffer so heinous a Violation of the Publick-Faith, sworn, and pledg'd upon the Altars, to go unpunish'd. Those who had first discover'd the Fraud, immediately communicate it to their Neighbours: These again divulge it to the People. In an Instant, the whole City is alarm'd. Multitudes of People flock together in Haste to the Market-place, as is usual in Cases of Publick Danger. They plainly perceive now, the Reason of *Genovino's* new Preferment, and they conclude, *that he has sold them to the Ministry.* On a sudden, they give a loose to their Rage and Indignation; they fly to their Arms; and in the first Heat of their furious Resentment, they utter a Thousand direful Imprecations against the Government, in whom they could no longer confide. This was the Beginning of a Civil War, that in the End proved fatal to the *Spaniards.* The Authors of it, unimproved by so recent an Example of what an injui-

fed and exasperated People can do in their own Defence, and the Defence of their Liberty, soon saw themselves and their Country involved in all the Calamities and Horrors that attend intestine Feuds and Dissentions: And some of them, by meeting with a more hasty and exemplary Punishment, have left behind them, an everlasting Monument of the Wrath of Heaven against perjur'd and avaritious Ministers.



IN,



# INDEX.

## A.



	Page
Commodation Treaty of,	122,
126, 149, 150, 151, 152, 155, 178,	
179, 180, 208	
Admiral. The Admiral Ship of Naples suspected to be burnt by the Duke of Mataloni	76
Alphonso King	1
Amalphi Thomas Anicilo of, <i>Vide</i> Masanicko	
Amalphi Mateo, who he was	163
Andreas Anaclerio, chosen Elect of the People 19.	
He is stoned by a Company of Boys, and with great Danger of his Life gets out of their Hands 26 and 27. His House burnt down by the Mob	100 and 101
Angelis Antonio de, who he was 97, his House burnt down by the Mob	98 and 99
Archbishop of Naples, <i>vide</i> Filomarino	
Arcos Duke of, <i>vide</i> Viceroy	
Ardiennne Michel Angelo	190 and 196
	Arms,

	Page
Arms, those of <i>Charles V.</i> fixed under <i>Masaniello's</i> Window mysteriously explained 14 and 15 <i>Vide Masaniello</i>	
Arms, the People plunder them out of the <i>Carmine</i> 28. The Gunsmiths Shops and the Houses of Merchants plundered of all their Arms by the Mob	60 and 61
<i>Arpaja Ciccio</i> , who he was, is made Elect of the People	124
<i>Austin St.</i> the Piazza of	190
<i>Austria</i> the House of 1. See <i>Naples</i>	

## B

<b>B</b> Anditti. A Troop of Banditti hinder the Mob from breaking into St. <i>Laurence's</i> Church 52. One Hundred and fifty Banditti slain by the Populace at <i>Naples</i> 131. <i>Vide Conspiracy.</i>	
<i>Basil Felix</i> , who he was 95. A fine House of his burnt down by the Mob	95 and 96
<i>Benevento</i>	133
<i>Bisignano</i> Prince of, who he was, 45 and 46. He hinders the Populace from breaking open the Royal Prisons, 50 and 51. Stratagem of his to disengage himself from the Rabble	54
<i>Bologna</i> Don <i>Carlo de</i> , who he was	108
<i>Brancaccio</i> <i>Carlos</i>	124

## C

<b>C</b> aivano Duke of, his House is burnt down by the Populace	93
<i>Caivano</i> young Duke of, his Palace burnt down by the Mob	112
<i>Caraffa</i> Don <i>Joseph</i> , <i>vide Prior of Roccella</i>	
<i>Caraffa</i> Don <i>Pepe</i> conspires against <i>Masaniello</i> 130 flies to Refuge 132, is murdered	136
	Ca-

## INDEX.

213

Page

<i>Garaffelli, vide Santa Severina</i>	
<i>Carmine</i> Lady of, who she was, 22, 23, & <i>alibi locis</i> , her Festival when celebrated 23, the Customs and Ceremonies used upon that Occasion, <i>ibid.</i>	
<i>Carraciolo</i> Don <i>Ferrant</i> 35 and 124	complain of
<i>Carlos</i>	<i>Masaniello</i> , 188 and 189
<i>Carraciolo</i> Don <i>Joseph</i> , his fine Character 104, he finds the Charter of Privileges	113
<i>Castel di Sangro</i> the Duke of <i>Salvatore</i>	35
<i>Cataneo</i> and <i>Carlos</i>	196
<i>Cellamare</i> the Prince of, who he was	124
<i>Charles V. King of Spain</i>	2
Charters of Privileges	104 and 113
Citizens shut up their Shops	30
They joyn themselves to the Rabble	138
Combustions, the Populace burn down a great many Houses and Palaces in <i>Naples</i> , 93 to 101, & <i>alibi</i>	
Conspiracy. Five Hundred Banditti are sent to <i>Naples</i> to assassinate <i>Masaniello</i> 126, their Design detected 127. One Hundred and fifty of them are put to Death	131
<i>Coppola Donato</i>	179
Council of State advises the Viceroy to make a Sally upon the Rabble	73
Resolution of the Councils	101 and 102

## D

**D**Epositions, pretended ones relating to the Conspiracy 129, refuted 130 and 131 Discipline, several Instances of *Masaniello's* Severity to such as attempted to save any Thing out of the Houses that were burnt, 92, 93, 99

P 3

Done

	Page
Donneruma Hieronymo, who he was	203
Doria, who he was 148, <i>Masaniello</i> orders him to keep at Sea	149
Sends him Money and Victuals	176

## E

<b>E</b> FREM St.	133
Elect of the People, <i>vide Anacletio</i>	
<i>Arpaja</i> made Elect	124
Elect of the Nobles	113
Elmo St. the Castle of, the People insist upon its being delivered into their Hands	122
<i>Masaniello</i> recedes from this Demand	123
Epaminondas, who he was	170 and 171

## F

<b>F</b> armers of the Gabels present the Visitor- General's Lady with Fifteen Thousand Duc- cats 11, what for, <i>ibid.</i> The Houses and Furniture of the Farmers of the Gabels burnt by the Mob, <i>vide Combustions</i>	I
Ferdinand King	I
Fetitius Hieronymo, who he was 93 and 94, a fine Palace of his burnt down by the Mob, 94, 95	
Fiorino, Cardinal, Archbishop of Naples, his fine Character, 41 & al. loc. he summons the Religious of the City to go in Procession 80 orders another Procession in which he intends to assist in Person 107, he alters his Mind, and the Reason why 109 and 110, orders the Host to be exposed, and private and publick Prayers to be offer'd, &c. 110, the Archbishop's Negoti- ation with the Heads of the Rabble 118 to 122, he prevails upon <i>Masaniello</i> to retract an Order for burning 36 Houses of Persons of Quality	124 and 125

Filo-

*Filomarino Francisco*, who he was 149  
*Fruiterers Country*, have no Market for their Goods, 24, the Reason why, *ibid.* A sharp Encounter between them and the Shopkeepers *ibid. Vide* Shopkeepers

## G

**GABELS**, see Taxes

*Galion* blown up in the Port of Naples 68  
*Garaffa* Don Tiberio de, *Vide Bisignano*  
*Gennaro* St. who he was, 80 and 124, his Head and miraculous Blood publickly exposed, 80 and 198. The Archbishop of Naples greatly abused at the Procession of the Reliques of St. Gennaro 124  
*Genovino Julio*, who he was, 89 and 90, is made Privy Counsellor to *Masaniello*, *ibid.* he and *Perrone* draw out a List of 60 Houses of the Gabellers to have them burnt, 91. *Genovino* is commissioned to draw up Articles of Capitulation 122, he causes *Ciccio Arpaja* to be made Elect of the People 123, he is bribed by the Viceroy 147, his Speech to the People 155, is made President by the Viceroy 207 on what Account 209  
*Germans*, a Regiment of them taken Prisoners by *Masaniello* 70, they are set at Liberty, 71 *Masaniello* stops the Progress of 600 *Germans* that were coming to Naples 116 and 117  
*Grassiero Zufid*, who he was 24, orders the Elect to take a Course with the Rioters, 24 and 25  
*Grosso Antino* 128  
*Guards*, the Viceroy's Guard put to Flight by the Mob 34, 45, 72, *vide* Populace

## J. I.

**S**T. James the Prison of, broke open by a  
Company of Boys, and the Prisoners set at  
Liberty 32, *vide Masaniello*

Inhabitants, their Dissention, is the Ruin of a  
Common-wealth, illustrated by several Ex-  
amples 15 and 16

Invectives, *vide Libels*, 20, 21, 27, 32, 64, 65  
73 & *alibi*

Italians, two Companies of them taken Prison-  
ers by *Masaniello* 71

## L

**S**T. Laurence the Convent and Tower of, 52  
the Importance of this Place 114, the People  
take Possession of it 115

Libels, sharp and bitter ones published and dis-  
persed, in Naples 7

Liberty, the Love of it is natural to all Men  
3 and 4

*Luprano* 113

## M

**M**ARIA Santa de la Nova 132  
Market place, the common Rendezvous of  
the Populace 66 & *alii locis*

Martellone Andrea, who he was 103, employed  
by the Viceroy to treat with the Rabble *ibid*.

*Masaniello*, his Person and Character described,  
13 and 14, the Arms and Name of Charles V,  
antiently fixed under one of his Windows in-  
terpreted as a Presage of his future Exploits,  
14 and 15. One of the same Name formerly  
opposed the introducing of the Inquisition 15  
but without Success, *ibid*. the Reason why,  
and Remarks thereon 15 to 18. *Masaniello*  
has

has a Conference with the Bandit *Perrone* 17 and 18, he sells all his Goods to pay an Hundred Duccats for his Wife's Liberty 18, 19 *vide Officers, &c.* he insinuates himself among a Company of Boys 20, makes a Speech to them wherein he inveighs against the Government 20 and 21, his Answer to those who took him for a Madman 22, he lists Five Hundred Boys, *ibid.* they increase to Five Thousand, *ibid.* he occasions a Riot together with his Kinsman 26, he wounds the Elect, *ibid.* see *Anacletio.* he puts himself at the Head of the Rioters 27, makes a remarkable Speech to them 28 and 29, the Effect it had upon the Mob, *ibid. vide Populace,* he makes a mournful Procession thro' the City at the Head of Two Thousand Boys, having each of them a black Flag 32, *Masaniello* is made Generalissimo by the People 55, his Speech to them upon this Occasion 56, he orders the 36 Precincts of the City to arm for the common Defence 67, he sends to a Shopkeeper to buy Gunpowder, but upon his Refusal orders his House to be set on Fire 67 and 68, he makes Prisoners a Regiment of *Germans* and two Companies of *Italians* who were sent for by the Viceroy, 70 and 71, he gives them their Liberty 71, his Answer to the Viceroy's Letter, containing certain Conditions of Peace 74 and 75, he orders his Officers to make Inquiry after such Persons as were concerned in the Gabels, and to burn their Houses 91, *vide Genovino,* his exact Discipline in the midst of the Disorders 92, several Instances of it, 93 and 99, he searches the Houses of suspected Persons for Arms and Ammunition 105 he takes seven great Guns out of a Ship which he disarmed in the *Mole*, and places them at

*Page*

the Entrance of the leading Streets 106, *Masaniello* orders Eighteen Pieces of Ordnance which were found in the Tower of St. *Laurence* to be planted in different Quarters of *Naples* 115, he causes the Alarm-Bell to ring 116, the Reason of it, *ibid.* he makes a Protestation of Loyalty to the King of *Spain*, and orders his Majesty's Arms to be joynly set up with the Ensigns of the City on the Top of St. *Laurence's* Tower 116, he opposes the Match of the auxiliary Troops that were coming to succour the Viceroy, *ibid.* Upon their Surrender he gives them their Liberty 117. *Masaniello* makes a general Review of the People 125, a Conspiracy against him discovered 127, he orders the Conspirators Heads to be exposed in the Market place 131 and 137, he issues out a Proclamation for taking the Duke of *Mataloni* 140, he prohibits the conveying of Provisions to the Castle 140 and 141, *Masaniello's* Harangue to the People 158 he has an Interview with the Viceroy 163 A remarkable Instance of the People's Love and Obedience to him 165, he is made Duke of St. *George* 167. *Masaniello* condemns a Baker to be burnt alive, 168 and 169, he makes several good Regulations 169, 170 and 173, he causes four Persons to be put to Death 173 upon what Account, *ibid.* he hangs the Duke of *Mataloni* in Effigies, and causes a fine House of his to be burnt, 174 and 175, *Masaniello* sends great Store of Provisions to the Viceroy 176, and to *Doria* the Admiral, *ibid.* he is visited by Cardinal *Trivulio* 177. The Vice-Queen presents *Masaniello* with a rich Suit of Cloaths 178, *Masaniello* receives Compliments of Congratulation from the Clergy, Gentry, &c. 182, he grows delirious, *ibid.* A comical

Con.

Conference between *Masaniello* and the Archbishop of St. Severina, 182 to 184, different Opinions of *Masaniello*'s Madness, 184 and 185, he orders two Noblemen to kiss his Feet publickly 188, the People forsake him, 190 he dies 196. Reflections upon *Masaniello*'s Life and Death, 198 &c. is buried with great Pomp

204 and 205

*Mataloni* Duke of, who he was 76, obtains his Liberty of the Viceroy, who commissions him to treat with the Rabble 76 and 77, the Particulars of his Negotiation 77, 78 and 79, is abused by the Populace, and sent to Prison 84 Upon *Perrone*'s Intercession is set at Liberty 84 and 85, *vide Perrone*. The Duke of *Mataloni*'s Plot discovered 130, he is pursued by the Rabble 132 and 133, makes his Escape 133, he is proscribed 140, hang'd in Effigies

175

*Mazola*, who he was 106, *Masaniello* takes Four Thousand Musquets out of his House, and then sets Fire to it *ibid.*

*Medina de las Torres* Duke of 176

*Mendoza Don Diego de*, who he was 108

*Mirabella Antonio*, who he was 100, his House burnt down by the Populace *ibid.*

*Monte Sarchio* the Prince of, is murdered by the Mob 83

## N

*NAPLES* the Kingdom of, becomes tributary to the House of *Austria* 1

Neapolitans, their Affection and Fidelity to the Kings of *Spain* 1 and 2, they are oppressed with Taxes 2 and 3, but especially by the Tax upon Fruits 3, they represent their Case to the Viceroy 4 and 5, *vide Viceroy*, are unrelieved 7, they grow outragious, *ibid. vide Po.*

	<i>Page</i>
Populace, the extraordinary Devotion of the Neapolitans to the Lady of Carmine 22, <i>vide</i> Carmine, the Flower of the Neapolitan Youth list themselves into <i>Masaniello's</i> Service 62 and 63, the Country People come to Naples ready arm'd and joyn in the Tumults 64, the Women and Children arm themselves also, <i>ibid.</i>	194
Nobility, many of them retire into the Country for Fear of the Populace 65, they become odious to the People 102, several of them retire to <i>Castelnovo</i> 111, they congratulate the Viceroy upon <i>Masaniello's</i> Death	197
<i>Nolana Porta</i>	197
<i>Nuncio</i> , the Pope's, at Naples	111
Nuns of the <i>Conception</i> -Monastery of	113

## O

Officers of the Customs imprison <i>Masaniello's</i> Wife 18, upon what Account	<i>ibid.</i>
<i>Ognate Conte d'</i>	57
Orders, several Orders published by <i>Masaniello</i>	141 to 145, 169, 170 and 173
<i>Offuna</i> Duke of	90

## P

<i>PALMA</i> Onejico, who he was 103, he is commissioned to treat with the Rabble	<i>ibid.</i>
<i>Pepa</i> Don Stephano, who he was 6, he advises the Viceroy to take off the Tax upon Fruits, <i>ibid.</i>	
<i>Vide</i> Viceroy	
<i>Perrone</i> , who he was 17, has a Conference with <i>Masaniello</i> in the Church of Carmine 17 and 18, he intercedes for the Duke of <i>Mataloni</i> , and obtains his Liberty of the Populace 85 what induced him to it, <i>ibid.</i> , he and his Brother are put to Death 128, upon what Account, <i>ibid.</i>	

Phitip

## INDEX.

221

Page

Philip { II. 2 and 15  
III. 2  
IV. 2 and 3.

Pisanello 122

Populace set Fire to a Baracca of Powder in the Market-place 7, again, *ibid.* They meet in Clubs and Cabals, and threaten their Governors 10, they put themselves under the Command of *Masaniello*, *ibid.* *Vide Masaniello*, they get Arms 28, they set Fire to the Toll-House for Fruit 30, see Toll-House. They rifle the Toll Houses, and burn all the Books of Accounts, 30 and 31. Ten Thousand of them go to the Viceroy's Palace carrying Loaves of Bread upon the Top of their Pikes, *ibid.* they raise a Tumult before the Palace, and force open the Gate 33, beat away the Palace Guard 34, *vide Guards.* They break open a Closet where the Viceroy had hid himself 35 they oblige the Viceroy to come out to them in the Street 36 and 37, a remarkable Instance of their Reverence to the Church, *ibid.* *vide Trivultio*, they threaten the Viceroy, and force him to come out of his Coach 38, whilst they pick up the Gold that the Viceroy had thrown among them, he makes his Escape 39, *vide Viceroy*, they break open the Monastery of St. *Lewis* 40, but at the Archbishop's Persuasion they abate of their Violence 42, they attack again the Monastery of St. *Lewis*, where they meet with a vigorous Resistance, and many of them are killed, *ibid.* they burn down the Toll-House for Fruit at *Chiagia* 46, they break open several Prisons 49 and 50, they burn down the Toll-House for Corn 51, they make an Attempt upon St. *Lawrence's* Steeple, but are vigorously opposed by a Party of Banditti 52 and 53, *vide Banditti*, they make

Ma-

	Page
<i>Masaniello</i> Captain-General 55, <i>vide Masaniello</i> , they search the Shops of the Gunsmiths, &c. for Arms 60 and 61, <i>vide Arms</i> , the Populace blow up the House of a Shopkeeper who refused to deliver up his Arms 61, <i>vide Shopkeepers</i> , of another who refused to sell his Gunpowder 68, they march to the King's Magazine in order to seize it, but are disappointed, <i>ibid.</i> the Populace set Fire to several Palaces and Houses in Naples 93 to 102, the Populace's Answer to the Archbishop's Message concerning a Procession 108 and 109, they burn more Houses 111 and 112, an Instance of their great Regard to Religion 112 and 113, the Populace besiege the Tower of St. Laurence 114 and 115, <i>vide St. Laurence</i> , they burn all the Goods and Furniture belonging to the Convent of St. Laurence 117 the Populace insist, that Articles of Capitulation be drawn up by some of their Body 120 the Viceroy condescends to it, and promises to have them confirmed by the King of Spain 121 and 122, a Debate among themselves concerning the Choice of a Person to draw up the Articles, &c. 122, <i>Genovino</i> is pitch'd upon for that Purpose, <i>ibid.</i> the Rabble put to Death One Hundred and fifty Banditti 131 <i>vide Conspiracy</i> , they kill several Servants of the Duke of Mataloni 134, the Populace take the Alarm 148, on what Account, <i>ibid.</i> they forsake <i>Masaniello</i> 190 and 196, they reassume their Arms 209	209
<i>Posillipo</i>	148 and 186
Prisons, many of them broke open by the Mob, and the Prisoners set at Liberty, <i>vide Populace Procession</i> , Two Hundred Theatins go in Procession through the City of Naples 56 and 57 <i>vide Theatins</i> , the Archbishop of Naples summons	56 and 57

mons the Religious Orders to go in Procession  
thro' the City 80, it proves ineffectual, *ibid.*

## R

**R**AMA Andrea 196  
Rocella Prior of, is deputed to look for the  
Charter of Privileges 80 and 81, a Fraud of  
his to appease the Tumult 81, proves unsuc-  
cessful, *ibid.* he flies to Refuge 83.

## S

**S**antis Michael de 136  
Sanza Prince of, who he was 175  
Severina Santa the Archbishop of, goes to see  
Masaniello 182, what passed between them  
183 and 184  
Shopkeepers refuse to buy any Gabel'd Fruit 19  
A stout Skirmish between the Country Fru-  
iterers and the Costermongers of Naples 24  
how occasioned, *ibid.* A dreadful Accident  
occasioned by a Shopkeeper's refusing to de-  
liver up his Arms to the Populace 61, anoth-  
er Shopkeeper refusing to sell Gunpowder  
to the Rabble, his House is blown up with  
Sixty Persons in it 68  
Sicilian, the Character of a Sicilian who headed  
a Party of the Rioters 53, his Expressions to  
the Populace, *ibid.* is shot dead by a Musquet  
Ball *ibid.*  
Spaniards, a Party of them are disarmed by the  
Populace 116  
Speech, Masaniello makes one to a Company of  
Boys 20 and 21, a remarkable one of his to  
the People 28, 29, & alibi, *vide* Masaniello,  
the People are inflamed by the Speeches of  
their Leaders 73  
Spinello Don Carlos 124  
Spinola Cornelius *ibid.*  
Taxes

## T

TAXES, the People of <i>Naples</i> are heavily oppressed with the Weight of them	2
A new Tax laid upon Fruits 3, grows insupportable	<i>ibid.</i>
Theatins, who they were 57, Two Hundred of them make a Procession through the City of <i>Naples</i> , in order to suppress the Tumults	57
Toll-House, that for Fruit burnt down by the Mob 29 and 30, the Toll-Houses are rifled by the Mob, and all the Goods burnt 30 and 31 the Toll-House at <i>Chiagia</i> burnt to the Ground by the Populace 46, the <i>Dogana</i> or Toll-House for Corn used in the same manner	51
Trivulio Cardinal, a remarkable Instance of the People's Respect to his Person he visits <i>Masaniello</i>	37 177

## V

<i>V</i> alenzano, who he was 112, his House and Furniture burnt by the Mob	<i>ibid.</i>
Viceroy, the People often complain to him of the Oppressions they indure 4 and 5, he gives them fair Words, but they are unbelieved 5 he is stop'd in his Coach as he goes to Church, and threatned if he does not remit the Tax upon Fruits 5, he will not suffer the Festival of St. <i>John</i> to be celebrated, <i>ibid.</i> he has a Conference with <i>Don Stephano Pepa</i> , who advises him to abolish the Tax upon Fruits, as the only Way to appease the People 6 he continues the Tax, notwithstanding his Promise to take it off, <i>ibid.</i> the Reason why 11, <i>vide</i> Visitor-General, he abolishes the Ga-bells upon Fruits, and Part of the Corn Tax 33, he hides himself 34 and 35, is found out by the Mob 35, but is rescued out of their Hands,	

Hands, *ibid.* he attempts to make his Escape 37, is spied out by the Mob, who threaten to kill him, unless he abolishes the Taxes 38 *vide Populace*, he is forced to comply, *ibid.* the People use him civilly 38 and 39, he throws Money among the Mob, and while they scramble for it, makes his Escape to St. *Lewis's* 39, the Monastery of St. *Lewis* being attacked, he scales the Walls, and flyes to St. *Elmo* 45, he orders a Guard to be set upon the Church of St. *Laurence* 58, on what Account, *ibid.* he removes with several Persons of Quality from St. *Elmo* to *Castelnovo* 59, he increases the Weight of Bread 60, he orders all the Powder in the City to be wetted 62 he reinforces the Garrison of the Palace, and fortifies it with Ramparts and a deep Trench 69, he orders several Pieces of Ordnance to be planted in the Streets leading to the Castle 70 he sends for a Regiment of *Germans*, who are disarmed by *Masaniello* 70 and 71, he is advised by the Council of State, to make a Sally out of the Castle upon the Rabble 73 and 74 he sends a condescending Letter to *Masaniello* 74, its Effect, *ibid.* the Viceroy's Reply to *Masaniello's Answer* 75, he releases the Duke of *Mataloni* out of Prison, and desires him to mediate between him and the People 76 and 77, *vide Mataloni*. He endeavours to raise a Jealousy between the Nobles and the Commons 86, he succeeds 87 to 90, he causes Twelve Thousand Musquets to be delivered to the People 89, he does it out of a politick View, *ibid.* he orders an *Instrument* to be printed, by which the Gabels are taken off, *ibid.* it proves ineffectual, *ibid.* he employs two Commoners to compose the Disturbances 103, their Mediation unsuccessful, *ibid.* Indolence

Page

lence of the Viceroy 114, he writes a Letter to the Archbishop, wherein he condescends to all the People's Pretensions 121 and 122 he is reduced to great Straights by *Masaniello* 141, he banishes all the Banditti 146, the Viceroy signs the Treaty of Accommodation 152, his Excellency's Letter to the Archbishop 152 and 153, he desires to have an Interview with *Masaniello* 154, he makes him Duke of St. George 167, the Viceroy and all the Officers of Naples swear to observe the Treaty of Accommodation 180, the Viceroy promises Ten Thousand Crowns to *Michel Ardizzone* to make away with *Masaniello* 191 he is complimented upon the Death of *Masaniello* 197, he sends eight of his Pages to attend *Masaniello's* Corpse to the Grave 206 Visitor-General persuades the Viceroy to continue the Tax upon Fruits 11, what induced him to it *ibid.*  
*Vitale Marco*, who he was 191, is killed 192



Page 14, line 18, for *Anello* read *Aniello*,  
 Page 113, line 27, leave out *Joseph*.

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